

# The HISTORICAL BULLETIN

A CATHOLIC QUARTERLY  
for Teachers and Students of History

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No. 2

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## What Is History

Richard L. Porter, S. J.

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NOT a few historians seem to have a special phobia against any attempt to define and discuss the nature of history. So many things have been bandied about under the general label and so many schools of interpretation wrangle vociferously and "metaphysically" that the average historian prefers to sidestep the issue and proceed about what he considers his more proper business. But this situation is unfortunate. Intelligent procedure demands a more or less clear idea of what one is studying or teaching, at least in its more general features. A general "rule-of-the-thumb" method is bound to lead to confusion.

The purpose of this paper is to offer some general ideas concerning the nature of history. Almost any discussion of this kind will be influenced by the psychological, epistemological, or metaphysical premises of the writer; and any reader who does not hold the same premises may, of course, violently disagree.<sup>1</sup> It is unfortunate that such is the case, for too often a writer and his readers cannot get on common ground for their considerations. Because of the brevity of the present article, many real difficulties must be left unsolved or treated much too cavalierly.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This paper, of course, has nothing in common with the Relativism of Charles A. Beard as expressed in his presidential address before the American Historical Association, or of Carl Becker as given in his *Everyman His Own Historian*. A rather handy collection of ideas on history, many of them stemming from Kantian or Hegelian philosophy, may be found in *Philosophy and History; Essays Presented to Ernst Cassirer*, edited by R. Klibansky and H. J. Paton, Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1936.

<sup>2</sup> Some interesting articles on the subject of history have appeared in THE HISTORICAL BULLETIN. Some of them present at least slightly different points of view. See among others Demetrius B. Zema, "The Root Ideas of Catholic History," XII, 41-44, 59; "Toward a Philosophy of History," XIX, 3-4, 15-17; Gilbert J. Garraghan, "Is History a Science," XI, 25-27; "Unity, Continuity, and Chance in History," XIV, 51-53; W. P.

### A Definition of History

There are many definitions of history. History is everything that ever happened; history is the essence of innumerable biographies; it is the biography of a political society or commonwealth; history is past politics, and politics is present history; history is the sum total of human achievements; history is the social memory. These are but few of the better known definitions, and, whatever else the student may think of them, he will probably agree that they are quite consistently vague. Most of them seem to aim more at creating effect than clarity.

If we examine the works on our library shelves classified under the "900's," we shall find that the greater number of them are concerned with some kind of *human activities*. They deal with the *past*, usually under the aspect of *development* or *sequence*. Usually, too, they treat *groups* rather than individuals, although, of course, there are vast numbers of biographies. Perhaps the general idea of this section can be summed up in the following definition: *History is the science which studies the past activities and development of man, especially of man in society.*

This definition will immediately be objected to: some will question whether history is a science, or whether it is a science distinct from certain other social sciences. But before these objections can be discussed, we must examine what we may call the *historical process*, that is, the process by which past events become "history" in the fullest sense of the word.

First, there is the event in the objective order with all its multitude of relations, causal and other; secondly,

Donnelly, "Is the Historian Objective," XII, 3-6. See also another article by Gilbert J. Garraghan, "The Philosophy of History," in *The Modern Schoolman*, XV, 38-41.

this event is *known* by the mind of the historian with some kind of certitude, or with some mental attitude approaching certitude; thirdly, the event is known in some kind of chronological relationship with other events, as "before" and "after"; fourthly, the event is known in some kind of causal relationship, being the cause or effect of some other event; fifthly, from the study of a whole congeries of events, somehow logically grouped, we perceive an epoch or *schéma* of historical development, together with all the relationships (or at least a large number of them) of all the events in that epoch, one to the other, as either that of cause, condition, occasion, or similarity; sixthly, from the examination of many of these epochs we may perceive certain similarities of development between various epochs; seventhly, we may reflect upon the very nature of history itself, either as a result of our "historical experience" or in a certain *a priori* way, deducing our conclusions from the results of other sciences, thus analyzing historical development and historical agents themselves.

Now, with the "process" as above explained in mind, let us consider the two questions which we have proposed above: Is history a science? and Is history distinct from the other social sciences?

*Is history a science?* The people who propose this question usually mean one of five different things. Some are bothered by the difficulty of the credibility of history, that is with stage number two; others are bothered by the fact that history is concerned with the particular only, while to them a science concludes with some kind of general, universal "law" or principle; others are troubled by the vast number of past events which we do not know and probably can never know through any means of historical evidence at our disposal; still others, in their desire to reduce all sciences to the laboratory maintain that, since an historical event cannot be re-enacted under practically laboratory conditions of control, history cannot be called a science; and still a fifth group, who are concerned with history only as the "science" of why some particular event happened instead of some other, point out that we can never know all the natural causes and influences which acted on man when he performed a certain deed, and that even if we could know *all* of them, even then we would still be puzzled by the factor of free will.

Let us consider the possibility of answering these objectors. To the first group, our answer can only be to refer them to the technique of historical method. There are some things which we indisputably know; such as, that Caesar conquered Gaul, that Jesus Christ lived and died, that George Washington crossed the Delaware. What the "some" is, always depends on the evidence in each individual case, and that evidence must be examined critically according to the well-developed technique of historical method.

To the second group we can say that, although history in the third and fourth stages is not a "science" in their sense, yet history in the sixth stage is clearly such a formulation of general laws and principles. We have several instances of such history, of which the most notable recent examples are Crane Brinton's *Anatomy of Revolution* and Alfred J. Toynbee's *A Study of History*. The former is an attempt to formulate empirically the various "laws" of revolutions, and the latter,

in six completed volumes with three more projected, tries to examine the general "laws" for the rise, bloom, and decline of civilizations. In September, 1930, J. B. S. Haldane published an article in *Harper's Magazine*<sup>3</sup> in which he very emphatically asked from historians more work along this line. Perhaps he is over-concerned with the scientific and the biological in this article, but his challenge to history in its more general aspect is very similar to that which any historian might make, but with a slightly different emphasis of application.

To the third group, our response will begin with a frank admission of the enormous disparity between what happened in the past and our knowledge of what happened,—but is this a proper criterion of a science? Is there any science which claims, even at the present day, to know *all* or even the major part of what is to be known about its particular field of investigation? That a body of truth be a science, it is necessary only that whatever *is* known be known certainly through a knowledge of its causes.<sup>4</sup>

To the fourth group of objectors, we merely answer with a denial that every science is a laboratory science. This objection is an illustration of an over-emphasis of laboratory technique. Can a geophysicist re-enact an earthquake whenever he wants to? or an astrophysicist re-set the stage for an eclipse, a stellar explosion, or the appearance of a comet? A science studies a thing through its causes, and, although the laboratory with its controlled conditions is a convenient institution, some "sciences" unfortunately, cannot be taken into it. The laboratory is not the only way of studying the causes of things.

To the fifth group of objectors, we must concede the force of their argument, to a certain degree. If the sole object of history were confined to the fourth stage, and if history in this stage was required to furnish an exhaustive explanation for the why of every human action, or even of one human action, God with his complete knowledge through *concursus* would be the only "scientific historian." But, as can be seen from the description of the historical process, history need not be conceived solely in this way.<sup>5</sup>

But now, what about the question, *Is history a science distinct from the other social sciences?* There are two main reasons for admitting this distinction: (1) History in its first stages is particular, located in place and time, and therefore differing from the other social sciences of economics, education, political science, and sociology, which are time-less and place-less; and (2) History, in its later, more general aspects, is wider and more inclusive in its laws than any other single social sciences. The historical process of the fifth stage contains not just one aspect of historical development, but all possible aspects. A knowledge of the other social sciences is very necessary for the historian when he studies any one line of historical development; but historical develop-

(Please turn to Page Thirty-Five)

<sup>3</sup> *Harper's Magazine*, CLXI (September 1930), 470-478

<sup>4</sup> This is, of course, the definition of science which I am following. It is the traditional one of Aristotle and the medieval Scholastics.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. a very scholarly paper by B. J. Muller-Thym, which should appear in print soon. Dr. Muller-Thym's concept of history is that of an existential science. As explained in the above paragraph, this makes history, as a strict science, an impossible human achievement. This paper is well worth careful study for the many interesting points of view it contains.

# The Religious Upheaval: Catholic Culpability II.

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IN the preceding issue of the BULLETIN we offered the opinions of certain Catholic historians as to the causes of the Protestant Revolt. We said that the reasons for the opinions were solid because they rested upon the sources. We hinted that this solidity explained the concurrence of such illustrious names. We propose now to offer briefly a few of the more important sources which have led the historians to the opinions which they have given us as to the causes of the religious revolutions, often called the Reformation.

It is good, for clear thinking, to be reminded again that various abuses and corruptions both personal and administrative had moral and religious, as well as financial, political and national influences, repercussions and complications. For instance, pluralities, or the holding of more than one benefice, though primarily an administrative abuse, caused financial disorders, and national and political animosities; taxation on the part of the papal court and the incomes of the Roman See, though financial, aroused national feeling and aided and abetted worldly living of high-placed ecclesiastics, thus promoting the corruption of the clergy.

When John XXII (1316-1334) provided for twelve benefices and twenty-one canonries in the diocese of Exeter in England, and for five benefices and forty-seven canonries in the diocese of Bath and Wells, his policy was administrative; but it had some national consequences because of the economic implications. Politics could be in it too; for when the popes provided benefices in this way it was sometimes or often for their friends and relatives, and this spells nepotism. It aroused national feeling.

When, in August 1493, Caesar Borgia at eighteen years of age was given all the dignities and prebends of the late Robert, Bishop of Nantes, and when he received that same year the priory of St. Martin-des-Champs, outside of Paris, together with the monastery of St. Leonard de Ferrières in the diocese of Poitiers and two other monasteries in the diocese of Rennes, to be added to the other benefices which he had received or was to receive to the number of some fifty odd, this was an abuse and a corruption which had moral and religious, as well as financial, political and national effects.

The placing of responsibility is quite a different thing. The secular princes were sometimes very much to blame. Thus King Philip IV of France must share heavy responsibility for the Avignonese residence of the popes. Sometimes mere physical calamity, for instance the ravages of the Black Death, offered occasion for the increase of abuses. The forces lying behind the long continuance of the Great Schism (1378-1417) and the influences developing certain phases of the Renaissance were complex and manifold. Both of these had their share in inducing the religious decadence of the period.

The sources speak loudly and significantly. Popes and cardinals and papal legates, saints and reformers were alive to that which was the *greatest danger*; they were able to put their finger upon the sore that festered

most. It was the worldliness of the clergy, the corruptions of the papal court, the evil lives of priests that they most pointedly stigmatize. They deplore the neglect of the faithful through the non-residence of bishops and the negligence of the clergy; they break their hearts over the sins of priests and the consequent deterioration of Catholic life. It came in brief to this: the corruption of the clergy was the *first cause of heresy*.

The names of leaders are many who during the later Middle Ages looked upon the evils within the Church not only as the greatest calamity of Europe, but also as a portentous one. The authority of some is diminished by the fact that they were exaggerated preachers or chronic complainers. Among these may be classified such as William Langland, Gascoigne, Wessel Gansfort, John Vitrier, Erasmus. Others however were solid and serious-minded men (and some women), who cried out loudly against things as they were. Among the better known are St. Catherine of Siena and St. Bridget of Sweden; Alvarus Pelagius, Pierre d'Ailly, Jean Gerson, Nicholas Oresme, Nicholas de Clemange, Denis Leeuwen, better known as Denis the Carthusian, John Geiler, Sebastian Brant, St. Thomas More, John Colet and Briçonnet, Bishop of Meaux.

But certain texts are of paramount importance. They are of such grave import that they cannot be passed over lightly; they come, some of them, from the very highest authority in Christendom. We offer here a portion of some of these documents that those who know them may be reminded of their force and that those who see them now for the first time may have them ready to hand and be impressed with their significance.

Our first source is the well-known letter of Cardinal Cesarini written as papal legate to Eugene IV (1431-1447) concerning the condition of the church and the clergy, especially in Germany. Teacher of the great Nicholas of Cusa, president of the Council of Basel until it went into open schism, and Papal Legate to Hungary, of keen mind and gripping personality, Cesarini knew more about the conditions of the Church in central Europe than any other churchman of his day. He writes to Pope Eugenius:

These disorders [of the clergy, especially in Germany] excite the hatred of the people against all ecclesiastical order, and if they be not corrected we shall have to fear that the people will throw themselves against the clergy after the manner of the Hussites, as they clamorously threaten to do.

He predicts further that if the clergy of Germany be not reformed, then "after the heresy of Bohemia shall have been repressed there shall arise soon another" still more dangerous, for they will say that

the clergy is incorrigible and does not wish to apply a remedy to its disorders. They will fling themselves upon us when there will be no further hope of our correction. The minds of men are in expectancy of that which will be done and they may soon start something tragic. The venom they have against us declares itself. Soon they will consider that they make a sacrifice agreeable to God in maltreating and despoiling ecclesiastics as people odious to God and man, and plunged in the last extreme of wickedness. The little devotion still left for the clergy will peter out. They will cast the blame for all these disorders upon

th court of Rome which will be considered as the cause of all the abuses.<sup>1</sup>

The next source is from the pen of a man who before he became Pope Pius II (1458-1464) was the famous humanist, Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini. As secretary to the anti-pope Felix V and then as secretary to Emperor Frederic III, he had gained wide experience of European conditions. Pius II wrote to Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia, later Pope Alexander VI, who had given scandal by unseemly conduct in Siena. The letter is dated from Petriolo, June 11, 1460:

Our displeasure is unspeakable, for such conduct disgraces the ecclesiastical state and office. It will be said to us that we have been made rich and great, not in order that we should lead blameless lives, but to give us the means of self-indulgence. This is the reason why princes and powers despise us and the laity daily deride us. They reproach us with our own conduct when we would blame that of others. Contempt falls even upon the Vicar of Christ, because he seems to tolerate such things. . . . A Cardinal must be blameless and an example of moral life before the eyes of all men. What right have we to be angry if temporal princes call us by names that are little honorable, if they grudge us our possessions and constrain us to submit to their commands? Truly we inflict these wounds upon ourselves and invite these evils when by our own deeds we daily lessen the authority of the Church. Our chastisement for these things is shame in this world and condign punishment in the next.<sup>2</sup>

When Pope Alexander VI's (1492-1503) eldest son Juan, Duke of Gandia, was murdered in 1497 and his body found later in the Tiber, the Pope was deeply impressed, became serious and sad, and organized a commission for reform from among the most trusted of the Cardinals. We still have their report. A part of it carries this statement: "An unbearable dissoluteness has come into the Church. We propose therefore to begin to reform the Roman court, which ought to be an example of virtuous living to all the Church . . ."<sup>3</sup> Provisions followed intending to regulate, for one thing, worldliness and luxury among the Cardinals. No Cardinal was to draw more than six thousand florins yearly from benefices, nor have more than eighty servants in his court or thirty horses in his stables. Nor could heirs spend more than thirteen hundred florins on his funeral.

Pope Julius II (1503-1513) convoked the Fifth Lateran Council in 1511 in order to reform the abuses of the Church. Among the orators that opened the council was the illustrious humanist Egidius of Viterbo, General of the Augustinians. He had this to say before the assembled churchmen:

Hear, O thou head and defender of the city of Rome, hear into what a deep sea of evils the Church thou hast founded by thy blood is fallen. . . . Dost thou behold how the earth has drunk up this year more blood than rain? Help us! Raise the Church! The people, men and women of every age, yea, the entire world, are praying and beseeching; the Fathers, the Senate, the Pope himself beseech you to preserve the Church. . . .<sup>4</sup>

This oratorical apostrophe to St. Peter booms in close harmony to the more solid thunder of Dean John Colet, who the following year, 1512, was invited to deliver his famous Convocation Sermon before the assembled Bishops and Abbots of England:

Ye are come together today, Fathers and right wise men, to enter council. . . . But we wish that remembering your name and profession, ye would mind the reformation of the Church's

<sup>1</sup> *Monumenta Generalia Conciliorum*, sec. XV, f. II, quoted by Luigi Sturzo, *Church and State* (Longmans, 1939), p. 192. The illustrious Bossuet, almost three centuries ago, cited this text in his classic *Histoire des Variations* (Paris, 1863), p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Ludwig von Pastor, *History of the Popes* (London, 1899ff.), II, 452ff.

<sup>3</sup> Paul van Dyke, *The Age of the Renaissance* (Scribner, 1897), p. 276.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 291f.

matter, for there was never more need, and the state of the Church did never desire more your endeavors. For the Spouse of Christ, the Church, whom you would wish to be without spot or wrinkle is made foul and ill-favored, as saith Elias: the faithful city is made a harlot. . . .<sup>5</sup>

And he goes on to point the three ills—pride, concupiscence and greed—which affect the clergy and the Church, and the development of each of the above makes up the three parts of the sermon.

More significant still are the instructions which Pope Adrian VI (1522-1523) gave to Francesco Chieregati, whom he sent as nuncio to the Diet of Nuremberg, convened in September 1522 after the revolt predicted by Cardinal Cesarini had broken out:

You must say that we recognize freely that God has permitted this persecution of the Church because of the sins of men and particularly of priests and prelates. . . . We know that even in this Holy See now for a number of years many abominations have been committed—abuse of holy things, transgressions of the commandments; so that all has been turned to scandal. There is no reason to be astonished that the malady has descended from the head to the members. . . . All of us, prelates and ecclesiastics, have turned ourselves from the way of justice. Now for a long time no one has done good, and this is why all of us should honor God and humble ourselves before Him.<sup>6</sup>

This candid acknowledgment and grave warning is echoed from lesser churchmen and writers of the same age of Adrian VI. Jean Geiler von Kaisersberg (1447-1510), thundering preacher in fifteenth century Strassburg, warned as follows:

These [unworthy churchmen and clergy] open the way for the one who will be the grand falsifier, the imposter *par excellence*, and when he shall appear I fear that he will find many among us ready for him. Everything points to the belief that the time of his coming is not far off.<sup>7</sup>

Thus did this contemporary of Pope Adrian foretell like Cesarini, and like various other churchmen, the coming of the great revolt.

The low prestige of the clergy is reflected from the verses of the humanist Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff*, the well-known satire on the times. Brant writing in the last decade of the fourteen hundreds published these lines just two years after Columbus discovered America:

"For priests there's little reverence,  
Their work is reckoned but in pence,  
Many a fine young clerk today  
Knows no more than a donkey may,  
And shepherds of men's souls one sees  
That tend the flock but for the fleece."<sup>8</sup>

While just two years after the revolt broke out, Bertold Perstinger, Bishop of Chiemsee in Austria, complained in a letter of 1519: "Where does the choice fall upon a good, capable and learned bishop; where on one who is not inexperienced, sensual, ignorant of spiritual things. . . ."<sup>9</sup>

The revolt came, Protestantism spread; north Germany, England, the Baltic countries and parts of the Low Countries and of Switzerland moved off into schism and heresy, and yet "the essential thing—reform from within, which, undertaken in time, could have saved Europe—still hung fire."

(Please turn to Page Thirty-Nine)

<sup>5</sup> Samuel Knight, *Life of Dr. John Colet, Dean of St. Paul's* (London, 1724), p. 289.

<sup>6</sup> Carl Mirbt, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Papsttums und des Römischen Katholizismus* (Tübingen, 1924), pp. 261f. Quoted in part by Pastor, *op. cit.*, IX, 134f.

<sup>7</sup> Paul Bernard, "Jean Geiler des Kaisersberg, 1447-1510", *Etudes*, 124 (Juillet, 1910), 78.

<sup>8</sup> Quoted in Egon Friedell, *A Cultural History of the Modern Age* (Knopf, 1930), p. 233.

<sup>9</sup> Hartmann Grisar, *Luther* (London, 1914ff.), I, 48.

# The HISTORICAL BULLETIN

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for Teachers and Students of History

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## EDITORIALS

Caveat Lector

Here is a story that might be more convincing if we had time to check a few details. Merely substantial accuracy is all we can claim. But the point should be clear enough. Some time ago, when the facile showman whose *Inside Latin America* is reviewed in this number of the BULLETIN had just produced his second "low-down" for gullible lowbrows, an enterprising English critic undertook to find out how people in Asia reacted to the Gunther revelations.

The Englishman picked out friends whom he could trust in Singapore, Calcutta, Bombay and a few other strategic spots. The men he picked had been residents of Asia for ten or twenty years. This is what they had to say: "The author of *Inside Asia* has given us a vivid picture of the continent as a whole, but he must have been blind when he visited Singapore." "Mr. Gunther seems to know all about the rest of Asia, but he is all wet in his account of Bombay." "I like the panoramic sweep he gives us, but his facts don't fit the part I know best." Now, this tale is not a pure fabrication. Most of us have had suspicions which, with the aid of a little imagination, might lead to some such conclusion as is here hinted at.

The popular "writer" likes to tell a good story. Publishers, generally, with an eye on the market, want to print the books that will sell. The average reader is looking for entertainment, color, thrills, anything that will make the entry of knowledge painless. Where scholarship and story-telling can be combined the result is a happy one. But the combination is rare, and when the field covered is a whole continent or a long historical period the story-teller has an easier task than the scholar. Especially when a volume has to be produced in a hurry the facile writer with a reporter's more or less instinctive grasp of the picturesque has all the advantage. We have listened to thrice-told tales in hotel lobbies of Latin America, and remarked how they became more graphic and less accurate with each telling. On a flying trip a reporter who has the means of visiting enough places and talking to the right people can gather an immense amount of surface information. But he will have little time to verify his facts. The critical acuity, if it is to be employed at all, will have to be

employed by the leisurely reader. Most book-buyers will prefer not to be disturbed in their pleasant illusions. The more exacting historian can readily defend himself. In any case, in a popular history there is sure to be some discrepancy between colorful statement and prosaic fact. *Caveat lector!*

War Fiction

The German mind, or more specifically the National Socialist mentality, is a major factor in the gigantic revolution of today. It is a product largely of the grim reality and the transforming myth of the last great war. It is the dominant element in the carnage and destruction of Hitler's colossal sweep through Europe. To what extent it was created or at least influenced by the fiction writers of the past decade is open to debate. But the novels of this period do reveal a change of attitude and an alarming growth of the war spirit.

Back in the peaceful days of Stresemann and Locarno Erich Maria Remarque wrote his pacifist *All Quiet on the Western Front*. Five years later the Nazis had taken over, and the gloom begotten of disgust and defeat receded rapidly before the glamor and glory of a dream of empire. The thousands who know Remarque know only a passing mood. An historian\* with an eye for an interesting theme has combed through well over a hundred war studies, and given us his necessarily somewhat subjective analysis and appraisal of as many very subjective reactions to the war. Working in Germany and drawing upon abundant secondary sources, he has been able to present a host of fiction makers who were at the same time moulders of a real force in world affairs.

Up to 1927 a war-weary Germany had little appetite for tales of the long blood bath. It wanted to forget the mud and stench, the cold and loneliness of the front-line trenches. Then came the urge to write. Authors with note-books they had kept recovered their past experiences. They found ready publishers who, in turn, found or created a demand among the reading public. At first the prevailing tone was egocentric, cynical, definitely hostile to all the waste and futility that ended

\* *War and the German Mind: the Testimony of Men of Fiction who Fought at the Front*, by Wm. K. Pfeiler. New York. Columbia University Press. 1941. pp. xx + 349. \$3.25

in humiliation. Civilians in arms, torn from home or school or business, had felt contempt for inept officers, distrusted their government and hated the profiteers behind the lines. But the Weimar Republic gave way to the new Reich. The pendulum swung from the pacifism that was born of militarism to an even more aggressive militarism. Romance revived, comradeship in action was exalted, criticism of leaders prepared minds and hearts to acclaim *der Führer*. The *egocentric* individual was completely supplanted by the *ethnocentric* Nazi. The natural result of the passage of time was nursed, controlled and directed by the new masters of public opinion. Pragmatic history dressed up the memories of the first World War to foster a fighting morale for the second.

### A Generation of Materialism

If the purpose, or one of the purposes of history is to give us a better understanding of the present, Carlton Hayes has been fortunate in his choice of a theme for his latest volume.\* The optimism of the last three decades of the nineteenth century, tempered if not hopelessly blasted by two world wars and the depression, disillusionment and futile bungling sandwiched between them, is just far enough away to afford a fairly good perspective. It is also close enough to retain its family likeness to the brighter moments in our own troubled times. A short decade ago the "generation of materialism" could still be regarded quite favorably as "the era of the benevolent bourgeoisie." Six years ago Professor Hayes brought out his encyclopedic survey of the past century in a new dress. The real achievements of the materialist century were duly set forth, but its pride was badly punctured in a final chapter which was a call to a more becoming modesty and humility.

Materialism is an all-inclusive label that can be tacked onto the whole industrial age. But it has a peculiar fitness when applied to the earth-bound generation whose sons were to fight the first World War and whose grandsons would contribute their animal reflexes to the mechanized warfare of Herr Hitler. Materialism was a philosophy of a sort. It was much more an attitude conditioned by an angle of vision which kept the eyes rivetted on objects below the level of the eyebrows. Men of brains were too busy looking into test-tubes to have time or inclination for a study of total reality. They got marvelous results in improved breakfast foods as well as in bigger guns and more effective explosives. An intelligent use of vitamins increased the stature of the race, materially. It was easy to believe that the material world was of prime importance and that there was nothing beyond it.

One may feel a malicious satisfaction in viewing the doubts and disappointment, now deflating the enthusiasm of a waning philosophy of life which put all its trust in Science. One may feel indignation at the price we are only beginning to pay for the materialist holiday. But we can also spare a little pity for the generation that deserved to lose God and their own souls in a wild quest of prosperity. In fact, we should be grateful for a blind experiment that enables us to arrive at a better appreciation of real values. The idols of business success, political power and mere pleasure still have their worshippers, but their promises of utopia have

fallen flat. A chastened and saner generation can now emerge from the whirl and excitement, and reach out to a better balanced outlook on life and its meaning.

It is hard to tell what an author has in mind when he undertakes to discuss liberalism. The term may stand for a movement, a doctrine or a *Weltanschauung* that is wholly innocent, harmless. It usually involves a fundamentally unsound philosophy. Insofar as it exalts human freedom and the dignity of a free man it is good; when it makes a fetish of freedom it is likely to run to absurd and diabolical extremes. In politics it leads to Hitler, in economics to Marx, in religion to anticlericalism, paganism, atheism. Professor Hayes finds liberalism in its several varieties rising high in his age of materialism. He knows its roots, its illusions and its excesses. He distinguishes two types: an *ecumenical* liberalism which would be "all things to all men" and a more *sectarian* brand that was really intolerant. With the conservatism of an older day becoming more liberal, and the liberals becoming more conservative, everybody seemed satisfied with a kind of benevolent pragmatism. But the narrower Liberalism (which must be spelt with a capital letter), worked for the exclusive and selfish interests of the big-money men and for the wider freedom of a lawless Intelligentsia.

There is no doubt about the materialism of the generation that prepared World War I. In its physical sciences and in its social sciences a mechanistic conception prevailed. An obsolete faith in reason had evolved into a blind faith in evolution. By a kind of "parthenogenesis" of the machine "clocks produced clocks and guns had families of little pistols." Progress was less the result of human effort than of an automatic process. But nemesis, or was it merely logic, lurked in the satisfied age until the day of rude awakening. The "unpredictable atom" would jar the foundations of determinism. Fixed laws would be violently shaken by Einstein. More openly tragic, the terrestrial paradise would be blown to bits by the big guns of warring Europe.

Three volumes are to follow this study of Carlton Hayes in "The Rise of Modern Europe" series. The announced titles are: "The Great Illusion," "The World in the Crucible," and "Revolt Against the Old Order." Half-seriously, we might suggest that the editor of the series re-word his general title by inserting the word "Decline."

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*It is irritating to meet classical scholars and men of letters who seem to think that they are the guardians of culture, ancient and modern, and yet do not see nor try to see, the whole world of beauty which science is steadily unfolding before their eyes. . . .*

*It is none the less irritating to meet scientists and inventors who do not seem to be aware of all the treasures of beauty and knowledge which man has slowly accumulated in the last five or six millenniums, who do not appreciate the charm and the nobility of the past, and who regard artists and historians alike as useless dreamers. . . . George Sarton.*

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\* *A Generation of Materialism, 1871-1900*, by Carlton J. H. Hayes. New York. Harper. 1941. pp. xii + 390. Sixty-two illustrations. \$3.75

# A Lesson from Thomas More

Frank Sullivan, Ph. D.

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**T**HERE are certain questions that it is profitable to continue to ask even though generation after generation has answered and re-answered them. Such a question is, "Why study history?"

The study of history is like the study of a river from a nearby mountain top. As we look down, our vision is limited by the height to which we have been able to climb and by the power of our eyesight. As we see the river coming out of the upstream horizon, we know that its source is beyond our ken, and, as it disappears along its course to the sea, we know that its flow will continue beyond our vision.

The banks of the river enclose it; sometimes cause it to bend this way or that, and, mixing with the water, color it with the color of the surrounding clays. But the banks do not make the river. The stream of history is enclosed by the shores of the age through which it flows—but though the age may twist the current, the age can never stop the river or radically change the direction of its flow: though the age may color the waters so that the history of a special time is affected by special enthusiasms, yet the age cannot change the essential humanity which flows through time.

Sometimes the stream of history tumbles along with a violent rush by the rock-strewn, cloud-capped mountains, and at other times it wanders aimlessly beside the lush green meadows of the swampland. Sometimes the currents are vital and strong, and sometimes they are almost impossible to discover. But some of the currents go on and on, and purify the sluggish river even when its surface seems overgrown with slime. From the muddiest of rivers, pure water may be filtered. From the murkiest of ages, a universal humanity may be distilled.

There are many reasons why it is profitable to study history; the most practical of which, today, may be to foster courage. For history does encourage. It reminds us first that our difficulties are not new: tyrants, and madmen, and fools there have always been, but none of them stopped the stream of history or diverted it for long; a splash, a swirl, and an eddy, and the destined currents flowed around the obstacle in their way. And then it recalls to our mind the brave men and women whose courage foreshadowed and foretold the courage that we need and shall possess today.

In the sixteenth century, the greatest of poets saw around him:

. . . gilded honor shamefully misplaced,  
And maiden virtue rudely strumpeted,  
And right perfection wrongfully disgraced,  
And strength by limping sway disabled,  
And art made tongue-tied by authority,  
And folly—doctor wise—controlling skill,  
And simple truth miscalled simplicity,  
And captive good attending captain ill.

(Shakespeare. Sonnet 66)

Where is the complaint proper to our own day that Shakespeare has omitted? And yet in that century of

princes' contending, some men there were whose pursuit of the truth for the truth's own sake preserved the rights of freemen at the cost of their life. Our courage comes not alone from difficulties overpassed, but from the memory of our cultural ancestors to whom fame and power, fortune and privilege were as nothing when compared to the things of the spirit—for which they died when necessary.

History teaches us to know these men against the background of their times, and, by our acquaintance with *them*, we learn to know our fellow, and to trust his capacity for heroism. Not all men will be heroic, but there will be enough heroes for the victory. The problem created by a Hitler loose in the world today, is the sort of a problem that the world has had to solve before, and the problem of today will be solved as were the problems of yesterday—by heroes.

\* \* \*

Such a hero of yesterday was Saint Thomas More whose life was taken by Henry VIII. Henry has become to us a man famous as a strenuous widower, and we often forget his other claims to lasting notoriety. He was the great destroyer of beauty, usefulness, promise, and potential worth.

It was Henry who dissolved the monasteries: dissolved, that is, all of the poorhouses, orphanages, and hospitals in England. It was Henry who retarded the progress of poetry in his country by silencing the two foremost lyric poets in his land: Sir Thomas Wyatt was imprisoned; Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, was executed. It was Henry who did his best to abolish learning. He executed Richard Reynolds, the most learned monk in England. He removed the two most distinguished patrons of scholarship in his land by breaking Wolsey and beheading Fisher. When two of the great continental triumverate of learning (Erasmus of the Netherlands, Vives of Spain, Budé of France) came within his power he acted to destroy them. Vives he intimidated, imprisoned, and deported. Erasmus he frightened from his shores. Erasmus writes to More in 1517, "As to England, I fear its tumults and I have a horror of servitude."

Henry VIII stifled the spirit of exploration which in his father's reign had sailed to the Newfoundlands by forcing his subjects into the musty antechambers of European intrigue. Henry VIII confiscated between one-sixth and one-third of the national income in 1525 by means of a tax commission responsible to him alone. Henry VIII made himself head of the Church and forced his subjects to betray their conscience or die when they found themselves opposed to his proclamations of heresy and orthodoxy. Henry VIII annihilated that English political liberty which, in the fifteenth century Sir John Fortescue boasted, engendered brave men and sturdy warriors. Henry VIII tried—and with all but a few succeeded—to ravish the spiritual integrity of his subjects by enforcing his will against their inner conviction of the truth.

Henry VIII forced Saint Thomas More back to the last line of defense before the citadel of man's liberty. He tried to force More to surrender the primary freedom on which all other freedoms are built; he tried to force More to think as the king's whim dictated when this dictation was opposed to the truth, to More's own conscience, and the rights of human liberty. He murdered More, but freedom, with More's dying proved itself to be alive.

Freedom is always safe when even a few men are willing to die for it, and although we find our problems of the moment oppressive they are much the same as the problems which confronted Saint Thomas More, except that he stood almost alone against the usurper. How familiar some of his theories of government seem to citizens of a democracy. In an early Latin epigram More says, "The people consenting give a ruler his power, and they also may take it away." Yet we must remember that in More's own day such a theory was opposed to what was in effect the handbook of Henry's despotism. More stood for the fatherly ruler as opposed to the master of slaves. Henry favored Machiavelli. In *Utopia* More showed what a government should do. In *The Prince* Machiavelli showed what a government could get away with.

It was inevitable that these two theories of government should clash, but in 1527 the personal struggle between Henry and More must have seemed far away. In that year—when More was one of the most prominent men at the English court—Henry was induced by a series of promptings, some of which may be charitably interpreted, to divorce his queen, Catherine of Aragon. Early in the summer, Henry consulted More concerning the legality of such an act. More said that he did not feel qualified to advise his king on matters of the Canon Law, but the king insisted, and, after much urging, More did send Henry some texts from the doctors of the Church. Henry seems to have been annoyed for it is clear he did not want scholarship but abject agreement.

But Henry, who knew how to win by favor as well as force, raised More to the Lord Chancellorship and promised him that the matter of the divorce would never be brought to him again. On this condition More accepted the office in the fall of 1529. The next summer he was requested to sign an appeal urging the divorce upon the Pope. The following February saw the clerics of England forced to name Henry their "singular protector, only and supreme Lord, and so far as the law of Christ allows, even Supreme Head," and More forced, in the King's name, to declare Henry's reasons for his divorce to these same clerics. The next year, 1532, Henry imposed upon the clergy a declaration of complete subjection to his rule, and More, who saw what would be required of him as Lord Chancellor, resigned.

This was to be the end of More's public life he thought. He would not force the conscience of any man, but neither would he admit another's right to force him. He withdrew from the 'king's business,' and prepared to finish his life in quiet retirement. But Henry did not want acquiescence; he wanted abasement. On the twelfth of April, 1534, More was called to Lambeth to swear to recognize the validity of Henry's marriage to Anne, and likewise to acknowledge Henry as

the supreme head of the Church of England in all matters both spiritual and temporal. As a good subject of his king, More was willing to swear to the first part of the oath and was willing to accept the succession to the throne as parliament was pleased to fix it. Would he also be willing to accept Henry's claim to the rights which More felt belonged only to the pope?

\* \* \*

It is one of the difficulties of the study of history that we must forget the *results* of a struggle before we can understand it. We must forget that four years after More was murdered Henry reduced his position to its logical absurdity by proclaiming that he, and he alone, determined what was heresy and what was not. We must look upon the problem that More was facing in such a way as to see it as *More saw it*. The oath did not need to beget evil consequences. It was Henry himself who had convinced More of papal supremacy. Only one bishop and a few priests felt that the oath mattered very much. The greater part of the hierarchy felt that appeasement was the proper strategy if they opposed Henry's position at all. Father Bede Jarrett asks us to remember that More:

lived under the worst of the Renaissance Popes; Alexander VI ruled and died within More's lifetime. That is to say, the papacy he knew was not the papacy that you and I know and reverence—great, purified, outstanding, spiritual. . . . He died for a papacy that, as far as men could see, was little else than a small Italian principedom ruled by some of the least reputable of the Renaissance princes.

We should likewise remember what corporal punishment was meted out to those heroes who had opposed Henry's act of ecclesiastical supremacy. Sebastian Newdigate, Humphrey Middlemore, and William Exmewe were dragged on a hurdle to Tyburn and eviscerated because they would not let Henry force their consciences to his will. Yet death itself was perhaps the least of the tortures they underwent. Harpsfield tells us that for a long time before they were allowed the mercy of even the barbarous death of disembowelling they were:

imprisoned in the Tower of London; where they remained seventeen days, standing bolt upright, tied with iron collars fast by the necks to the posts of the prison, and with great fetters fast rived on their legs with great iron bolts; so straightly tied that they could neither lie nor sit, nor otherwise ease themselves, but stand upright, and in all that space they were never loosed for any natural necessity.

Ten other Carthusians were simply chained up and allowed to starve. More had no way of knowing that he would not have to undergo such tortures. We must remember this and all the rest if we are to understand More's heroism in not swearing Henry's oath.

More was put into the tower of London on the 17th of April, 1534. For fifteen months he resisted the guile, the blandishments, and the threats of his enemies, and—what was more difficult—the grief of his relatives and friends. For fifteen months he awaited the ending of his life with resignation, courage, and humor. More would not admit the right of the state to force the conscience of those subjects who peacefully pursue the truth. He gave his life for the principle that a man must be free within his conscience or else he lives less than a dead man.

From *this* our courage stems; there have always been men like Saint Thomas More and there always will be. History tells us that no Henry VIII can conquer them. History tells us that the spirit of man never dies, never

fails. It is the spirit that Shelley in *Prometheus* declares drives man on:

To suffer woes which Hope thinks infinite;  
To forgive, forgive wrongs darker than death or  
night;  
To defy Power, which seems omnipotent;  
To love, and bear; to hope till Hope creates  
From its own wreck the thing it contemplates.

Four hundred and six years have passed since that summer's day when Thomas More at about nine o'clock in the morning of the sixth of July, ascended Tower Hill to give his life for a cause. In those 406 years many things have changed, but the need of courage today is the same need that existed in 1535. And history bringing us the story of heroes from the past infuses the present with fortitude and hope.

### What Is History

(Continued from Page Twenty-Eight)

ment is not merely a collection of unilinear processes. It is a free interplay of all factors of development whether they be economic, social, political, religious, or cultural. In other words, historical development is in itself organically multilinear, of great interaction and complexity. This is the very reason why all the great nineteenth-century "interpretations" failed, whether they were the economic, sociological, psychological, or "spiritual." This is also the reason why a vector of all these interpretations, unless they are taken out of their unilinear form and studied in their organic multilinear interaction, must also fail.

The only social science which, in its present acceptance, might seem somehow to merge with history, as we have defined it, is sociology. But, until the sociologists define their subject more clearly, a discussion of the relationships of sociology and history would be difficult and prove too unsatisfactory. Clearly, however, if sociology is taken to mean a study of the success or failure, the efficiency or inefficiency of social living in general, there seems to be little chance of confusing it with the more general and more complex phenomena of history.

#### The Philosophy of History

The term "philosophy of history" has been so misused in the past that it is necessary to clarify the meaning of the term before proceeding to use it here. Some would classify as a philosophy of history such an expression as "history is the eternal triumph of human reason over unreason." But the term "philosophy," at least in its more exact usage, has meant an inquiry into the ultimate principles from which operations spring, rather than just a generalized, short-hand description of those operations.<sup>6</sup> Of course, it must be admitted that we are here on the delicate ground of usage, but it would seem more logical to say that a generalized statement of operations is more a "physics" or "chemistry" of history than a true philosophy of history. In a review article of Toynbee's *A Study of History*,<sup>7</sup> Pitrim A. Sorokin refers to this work as a "philosophy of history." It is just such a use of the

term which should be avoided. To the writer a generalized description of the process by which civilizations rise, bloom and fall is not a philosophy of history but rather a "physics," or natural science of history. Just as Newton's *Principia*, in which he expressed his Laws of Gravitation, since he did not inquire further into the ultimate causes of these phenomena but merely generalized on them, is not a Cosmology in the sense of *ens mobile in quantum mobile*, so neither is Toynbee's work, since it never touches the ultimate causes of historical development, a "philosophy of history."

A philosophy of history must inquire, not into the similarity of historical operations in certain identical situations, but into the very principles from which historical operations and development proceed—that is, into the very nature of history itself. True, both operation and nature are intimately connected, for the operation proceeds from the nature of the thing; but the particular object of any "philosophy" is the nature, the more ultimate, as the principle of the operation.

What then is the nature of historical development? There are three fundamental realities in historical development: the first is *man*, and this includes the nature of man with all its desires, powers, and frailties; the second is the world in which and according to which man must live, for man is dependent upon the material "creatures" of this world for his sustenance and development; and the third is God, who, for all the operations of man, has instituted a *moral order* according to which he must live in order to attain eternal happiness in the next world and even a completely happy "natural" existence in this world.

Stated in another way, historical development is made up of six main aspects: political, social, economic, cultural, religious, and ecclesiastical. Three of these, the economic, cultural, and religious, might be termed *primary*, for they express the primary needs and aspirations of human nature. Because man is animal, is material, has a body, he is dependent upon material means such as food, dwelling and clothing, and, as Plato observed, has an aspiration for all of these in greater abundance and quality than is required by mere animal necessity. Because man is spiritual, is rational, has a soul, he spontaneously acts and aspires to intellectual satisfactions and accomplishments which are generally termed "cultural." Because man is a rational creature of God owing worship, obedience and love to the Divine Being, he has the natural impulse and obligation of being religious in the exact theological sense. The religious nature of man concerns the historian mostly from the standpoint of the morality of his institutions. For man because of his creatureship, is bound by a system of rights and duties according to which he must live if he is to be happy in this world or the next, and if his institutions in this world are to prosper by being "according to nature."

The other three aspects, namely the political, social, and ecclesiastical, are "secondary," for they represent the means of attainment of the ends implied in the primary aspects. Man is by nature a social being, and to realize the full possibilities of his individual development he must enter into cooperation with others. Each

<sup>6</sup> A fairly popular description of a law in the natural sciences is "a short-hand record of facts." Thus all the data of many similar experiments can be reduced to a short and simple formula. This, it seems to me, expresses very well the difference between a "physics" of history and a "philosophy" of history.

<sup>7</sup> "Arnold J. Toynbee's Philosophy of History," *Journal of Modern History*, XII (July, 1940), 374-387

of the three aspects of social organization implied in the enumeration above, have a definite and particular place in history.

A full discussion of how all these six aspects of history enter into the unity of human development is a subject for a lengthy book. Perhaps, however, because of the prevailing great interest in one of these aspects, namely the economic, illustration might be taken from it.

Every epoch, every civilization, has its particular material basis. If this economic basis of what we may call a "high" civilization begins to crumble, the civilization will certainly degenerate into a "lower" one, unless, of course, human ingenuity is able to repair or strengthen it. Also, if a society has to struggle for the barest means of subsistence, it will not *normally* produce a complex "leisure" civilization such as usually seems to be required for a highly cultured existence. Consequently, whether a people is luxurious, moderately wealthy, or poor, whether predominantly rural or urban, whether settled, nomadic, industrial, or commercial, will certainly affect their culture. Economic determinism sins by forgetting human free will and human rational ingenuity to compensate in social life for the deficiencies and problems of economic environment. However, it is to be feared that certain "purists" have sinned by going to the other extreme of under-emphasizing the economic factor in historical development, by spurning the power of suggestion which lies in economic environment, by rejecting the role of human cupidity, and by forgetting the demands of the human need for food, clothing, and shelter.

#### *The Value of History*

The description of history as the "social memory" sums up quite well the value of history as a liberal science. Just as memory in the individual permits him rationally to adjust his personality to varying circumstances, in like manner history, the memory of mankind, enables each new generation to profit by the labors and experiences of past generations. Thomas Fuller, a seventeenth-century historian, expressed this idea in the following words:

History maketh a man old, without either wrinkles or gray hairs; privileging him with the experience of age, without either the infirmities or inconveniences thereof.

Both Bacon and Pascal had the same idea when they said that we are the ancients, and the men of antiquity the moderns, for we stand upon their shoulders with the experience of centuries at our command. The cynic might indeed question whether man has, as yet, learned very much from his historical experience, for the same mistakes seem to be repeated in the same old cycles; but, like most of the gems of cynic wisdom, this one also neglects what man has done and what, with better application, he can do in the future.

One of the attributes which differentiate man from the brute animals is his power of transmitting culture and experience from one lifetime to another. The historian is the guardian, and to a certain extent the explorer and discoverer of this heritage. It is only after an epoch in human development that its history can be properly studied, and it is the historian who is fitted by his profession to collate the evidence and gradually turn it into "history." The second stage of the historical process, the method, gives an invaluable discipline in ascertaining the truth of human testimony, very valuable

for everyday social intercourse, where our "witnesses" are usually, on the whole, truthful, but lacking in either critical insight or discipline in reporting, or in general competence. And the study of causal relationships and interrelations of factors gives an invaluable insight, not only into the past, but into human nature in general.

In his study of nature Aristotle followed the method of observing the particular thing through all its stages of operation and development, from which he acquired a deeper insight into the nature of that which he was studying. Aristotle applied this method to politics, studying, it is said, 158 constitutions. The same can be done with historical development as such, with perhaps the results which Mr. Haldane so ardently desires.

#### *The Catholic and History*

To the Catholic above all, history should be an interesting and profitable study. From it he can learn much of the Providence of God over man, the trials and difficulties of a moral life, and the lessons and knowledge of humanity. To the Catholic the history of the Church is the workings of the Mystical Body of Christ on earth, its successes and trials, its dangers and failures, the instances of human cooperation with grace by its members, and its practical limitations for goodness and holiness.

However, the Catholic must beware of becoming a narrow "spiritualist" in history. As we have seen above, history is a composite of many factors. All of these factors are in God's plan for human life and development. Christianity as an historical factor is largely a *Weltanschauung*, a world-picture, a moral and intellectual influence, which, although it will affect every branch of human life, is not the whole of human life. The fact that one nation is Christian and another is not does not exclude the independent factor of food supply, human stupidity in social and political planning, or the ultimate failure of that civilization. A man may be an excellent Catholic but, incidentally, a poor statesman, a poor business man, a poor philosopher, or a poor mathematician. God *can* do all things for those who love Him, but He usually does not; man is usually quite a little on his own.

All these aspects are factors in the science of history today. To the ancients and to some of the early moderns, history was the "lowest form of imitation," simple chronological narration, while its highest purpose to so many was to present a book of examples by which to point a moral, adorn a tale, or clinch a forensic argument. The broader realization of human relationships and an improved historical method have made history in the last century more of what we know it is today. To George Sarton history is the conservator of the old for the mingling of old and new into the "new humanism"; and to Etienne Gilson the history of philosophy is to be the unity of experience, from which, as a firm base of operations, a new attack may be launched against the citadels of the ultimates. For us too, the past should be both an heritage and a teacher.

*It is not ordinarily the actual loss occasioned by the battle which is fatal to the state; it is the imaginary loss and the resulting discouragement which deprive it even of the resources which fortune has left it. . . . Montesquieu.*

# Contrasts: Medieval versus Modern

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## An Introduction to the Renaissance

Editor's Note: The Renaissance, however defined, lies somewhere between the medieval and the modern worlds. As historical myth and as historical reality it is the end of the one and the beginning of the other. The term stands for a movement which was largely a composite of individualism, humanism, naturalism, paganism and secularism. Regarded as a period of time, its limits have been quite arbitrarily set at 1300 and 1500. But any pair of dates will have to meet very obvious objections. As a great European awakening it must be carried back to the twelfth century and beyond. And the best historians, in the wake of Haskins, Thorndike and a dozen other research scholars have done this. As a movement of expansion it is born with the misty origins of the revival of trade, the rise of the towns and earliest self-assertive strivings of the bourgeoisie; and it is still going on. If the French name is applied to the purely Italian recovery of a pagan, classic past, the mind turns to the *quattrocento*, or if you will to the two centuries between Dante and the *Sacco di Roma*. One may pick a score of dates for events, personages, or literary and artistic productions, and use them as guide posts through this era of radical change. But the most simple and safest solution is a negative one. The Renaissance is a sort of "middle ages" lying somewhere between a contented though crude Catholic Christendom and the distracted secularized Europe of the present.

If you know the Renaissance, you are well on your way to an understanding of the age that preceded it. You are also in a position to interpret its denouement in later times. The reverse is equally true. To grasp the meaning of the Renaissance, in both its good and its bad features, the student may start with a double list in which characteristics clearly medieval are balanced against others clearly modern. It might be well to head the medieval list with a picture of a cathedral towering above the low roofs of a walled town; or one might

choose a castle, a monastery or a mailed knight to symbolize feudal life. On the other hand, the modern world might be imaged in the sky-line of New York, in the smoke stacks of a factory town or in the latest implements of war on land and sea and in the air. Saint Thomas *redivivus* would wonder, he would stand in awe at the "things" we have made. But our pride and his humility might be seriously disturbed if he were to question our "intellectuals" about eternally valid principles and ideals which faith and reason and common sense once held to be as clear as the light of day. To the medieval giant, who was a modern in his own little world, the machine would look, for a brief moment at least, like a standing miracle; but the modern mind that produced, or was produced by the machine age would shortly appear for what it is, the mind of a mental defective. The modern is both better and worse, weaker and stronger, more human and less human than his medieval forebears. Favorable or not, the balance sheet at least serves as an aid toward understanding the meaning of the Renaissance.

The contrast of extremes reveals pronounced differences. And from the differences we infer the change, slow or rapid, that came over Europe during the intervening period. By classifying political, economic and other phenomena we can give our study the appearance of better order. But in the living concrete world of historical fact there was but one complex whole. The emancipation which enabled man to stand on his own feet and work out his own destiny at the same time tore him from his roots in the spiritual world. The prevailing movement, which was upward and outward, tended to become mere movement without direction. But the point here is that emancipation, expansion, release of appetites and a clouding of moral and intellectual vision are best understood when we compare and contrast obvious differences.

## Religious Differences

### MIDDLE AGES

Definitely supernatural in outlook and principle. *Theocentric*. Interest in religion and the things of religion: Gothic cathedrals.

The belief in a supernatural Being, a personal, omnipotent Creator, controlling the affairs of earth. A firm hope and trust in Divine Providence and the goodness of God. Belief in revelation.

Unity of Christendom. The Church and Papacy supreme. Influence of the Church felt in every sphere of life. The collective spirit of Christianity. Recognition of the vital necessity of preserving a common faith and a common moral code. By her teaching, the Church engendered respect for authority, and observance of justice and morality in business. Feeling of religious contentment.

*Idealism*—asceticism and ascetic restraint: effort to keep passions under control, based on the recognition of the four last ends. A true sense of values. High regard for the sanctity of marriage. The "life beyond" attitude.

### MODERN WORLD

Prevailingly natural. *Anthropocentric*. Interest in secular pursuits to the exclusion of religion. Attention to science. *Materialism*. Religious indifferentism.

*Atheism* indicative of the war on God and religion. *Deism* and the consequent denial of the Providence and goodness of God, based on the philosophical argument from evil existing in the world. *Naturalism* a characteristic feature. *Sequere naturam*. *Pantheism* in its various forms leading to the deification of the material universe. Everything identified with God.

A shattered Christendom consequent upon the disruptive forces of the Reformation which in turn were a working out of the principles of the Renaissance. Separation of Church and State with tendency to subordinate the former to the latter. The exclusion of God from politics and business. Religious discontent evidenced by numerous sects. Rationalism, skepticism, atheism, deism. Free-thinkers.

*Objectivism and sensuality*. Free and loose living. Sin glorified and justified. Surrender to the beautiful, the "soft," the alluring sensuousness of earthly pleasures. Passion run riot. False and distorted sense of values. Violation of marriage laws: divorce. *Humanism*—the glorification of man.

Realization of the mystical brotherhood of man. Sense of membership in group. High moral principles.

Emphasis on Scholastic Metaphysics: an exposition of the relation between creatures and Creator. A deep, penetrating interest in truth. The philosophical and theological synthesis of the Doctor Angelicus.

Dualistic Philosophy—spirit and matter. Theological preoccupation.

Pessimistic conception of earthly life.

Supremacy of Reason and Faith. Objective truth. Objective norm of morality.

Independent, exaggerated *individualism*. Religion regarded as a purely personal and voluntary matter. Sad lack of morality and lofty ideals.

*Agnosticism* which teaches that God and the essences of things are unknowable. Interest not so much in truth as in feeling. Emotionalism, sentimentalism; philanthropy. Monistic philosophy seeking to do away with the spiritual (and therefore the soul) and reduce all to material principles. Science and natural philosophy advanced as a substitute for religion.

Optimism. "Whistling in the dark."

Irrationalism (18th century Reason).

Feeling; sentiment.

Subjective truth. *Liberalism*—the emancipation of the mind and passions from objective truth and the moral law.

## Social Differences

### MIDDLE AGES

Feudal aristocracy.

The Manor—the foundation of society. Sparse population. Moderate wealth.

Private ownership of means of production.

Stratified society: clergy, nobility, peasantry.

Chivalric ideals; knighthood. *Noblesse oblige*.

Difficulty of communication and transportation.

Suppression of the lower class. No opportunity to better their position in life. Dependence of lower class on upper classes emphasized.

Individualism of opinion in non-essential matters.

Simplicity of social life. Lack of social contacts for the great majority. Few conveniences. Life comparatively dull, unexciting, monotonous. Simple entertainments.

### MODERN WORLD

Pedigree aristocracy based on heritage of wealth and social prestige. The "Four Hundred."

Towns and urban life form the nucleus of society. Large, congested population. Slums. Great wealth circulating.

*Socialism* and *Communism* based on the theory of collective ownership of property and the machinery of production.

Comparative democracy in society. Class and race equality.

Modern social views and manners. The "Emily Post" conventions of polite society.

Rapid transit travel due to revolutionary inventions in every field of science.

The opportunity of talent. Controlling influence of the bourgeois class very noticeable. Individualism asserts itself. Independent spirit.

Regimentation—public opinion moulded by the press, radio, entertainment. People stop thinking for themselves.

Commercialized amusements. High-stepping society; "The Age of the Debutantes." Sophistication; cleverness. Night-clubs, theatres, etc. Modern luxuries and conveniences. Hard liquor. "Paint the town red." Highly complex society resulting in innumerable social problems.

## Economic Differences

### MIDDLE AGES

Agrarian economy. Agricultural basis. Land-holding, the measure of wealth. Barter. Serfdom: bound to the soil.

Local production of goods for private consumption. Manufacture for use.

The organization of the guild system which facilitated and simplified production and provided safety for the laborer.

Economic activity directed by the guilds and towns.

Simple business methods.

Economics considered a branch of moral theology. Principle of a just price and a just wage. Usury frowned upon.

Small-scale commerce.

Cash and carry system.

Middle class in comparative obscurity.

Small industries: crude, inefficient methods of production.

Little competition in business.

### MODERN WORLD

Money economy. Industrial, commercial basis. Monetary wealth. Coined money; international trade. Proletariat: bound to the machine.

Wholesale, mass production, a result of the Industrial Revolution. Goods manufactured primarily for sale and profit.

*Capitalist system* with the consequent eternal struggle between capital and labor. Rise of the labor unions. The evils of the capitalistic system: strikes.

Economic activity controlled by governments and states; *Mercantilism*: government control of business, trade, and industry in the interests of national wealth, gained through a favorable balance of trade.

Complicated methods. Scientific accounting; commercial law; insurance; corporations.

Secularization of economics; the divorce of economics and ethics. The "sweating" system in industry.

Ocean-wide commerce.

Credit system. Introduction of money facilitated and complicated business transactions.

Rise of the bourgeoisie and their gradual gaining control in politics, economics, society. Their rise intimately linked with the growth of national monarchies.

Corporations; joint stock companies. Scientific methods of production largely the result of Industrial Revolution.

Cut-throat competition. Monopolies. Cornering the market. Greed and injustice widespread. Practical application of the theory of the "survival of the fittest."

"Financial activity or capitalism became the indispensable basis of the new cultural life of the Renaissance."—Lucas.

## Political Differences

*Result of the economic-social transformations.*

### MIDDLE AGES

Feudal system: princes and vassals. Isolated communities. Loose organization.

Feudal military armies. Defensive warfare.

### MODERN WORLD

National States, formed under the great economic and social changes. The psychological reflex of people living in the new economic environment. Power centralized.

National armies. Mechanized warfare. Military power made the basis of modern dictatorships. Military preparedness. Offensive warfare prompted by the desire for power.

Government by the lords; people mere ciphers in the political set-up.  
Simplicity of justice and law administration. Customary law. Church and State work hand in hand.  
Provincialism—individual countries self-centered. Exclusiveness and isolation due in part to the lack of communication. Local loyalties. Very little patriotism or national pride.

Governments strive to observe ethical principles.

Politics as understood today unknown.

An attempt at democracy in government; not entirely successful as evidenced by modern dictatorships. Fooling the people. Complicated judicial, legal, and tax systems. Codes. Separation of Church and State.

International contacts necessitated by growing expansionism. Rise of imperialism. The cosmopolitan character of cities and nations. Patriotism carried to an extreme. *Nationalism* tends to make a fetish out of the nation. "Nation-minded."

Governments tend to disregard ethical principles. Intermittent anarchism strives to do away with all government, law, and authority.

Crooked politics: lobbying, graft, injustice, greed. Political bosses, and political machines.

## Cultural Differences

### MIDDLE AGES

#### I. Intellectual

Thought reached out to God and Divine order in the universe. Theology, queen of sciences. Objective truth. Reason made the guiding and stabilizing influence. Logical reasoning.

An age of authority and tradition.

Latin the language of the learned.

Inventive genius at a minimum. Scant scientific knowledge.

Intellectual crudity: the dull, unenquiring peasant mind.

Comparatively even temper of mind.

Static.

#### II. Artistic

Art essentially Christian; inspired by Christian ideals.

Art served the purposes of religion: Gothic cathedrals, stained glass windows, painting, wood carving. Art regarded as a means to an end.

Religious subjects treated in a religious devotional spirit.

In music—Gregorian chant. Religious tenor.

Religious drama. Mystery and morality plays in market place, on steps of cathedral.

Awkward poetic forms.

#### III. Education

Limited educational facilities. Limited supply of texts and other books. Hand-written documents.

Illiteracy wide-spread.

Age of the Universities. Limited curriculum. Study of natural sciences very limited.

Ecclesiastical control of education.

Latin the language of the schools.

### MODERN WORLD

#### I. Intellectual

Intellectualism centers on man: anthropocentric; and in Nature: materialistic. Natural sciences worshipped.

Subjective truth. *Egoism* and *Relativism* results. Intellectual narrowness. Passion, feeling, sentiment. "Fuzzy" thinking; irrationalism.

An age of experiment and observation. Experience accepted as the foundation of truth. Freedom and unrestraint.

National literatures.

Great inventive activity partly conditioned by the growing demands in every sphere of life. Science becomes the vogue. Intellectual curiosity fostered by the press, radio, screen. "Yellow journalism."

Dynamic: restless, feverish, nervous expenditure of energy. The high tempo of modern life.

#### II. Artistic

Secularization of art due to the pagan influence of the Renaissance. Naturalism. Realism. Individualism.

Religion made to serve the purposes of art. Art becomes an end in itself.

Humanism characteristic of art. Sensuousness; *ars gratia artis*. Emphasis on the beauty and perfection of the physical human form. Cult of nude. Classicism—indicative of a return to the themes and technique of pagan Greece and Rome. Mythological themes. Christian subjects chosen not to inculcate devotion but to give the artist an opportunity to display his ability. The evolution of new musical forms: opera, concerto, oratorio. Professional orchestras; symphonies. Jazz. Secular themes and arrangements.

Secularized drama. The age of theatres.

Finished verse forms.

#### III. Education

Democracy in education—an education for everybody. Mass production of texts and printed matter due to the invention of the printing press.

Illiteracy greatly reduced. Much knowledge, undigested.

Grammar school to university system. "Bargain counter" curriculum. Window shopping courses. The practical viewpoint. Popularity of scientific studies.

Tendency to state monopoly of education.

Cult of the classics, followed by reign of vernacular.

## The Religious Upheaval

(Continued from Page Thirty)

The Council of Trent (1545-1563) came and went, and the vigorous movement of the Counter-Reformation was launched. One of the reforming popes, St. Pius V (1566-1572) wrote to Charles IX, King of France, exhorting him to introduce the decrees of Trent into his kingdom. Pope Pius writes under date of June 20, 1566: If you do not wish to impose upon all your subjects the decrees of the Council of Trent, have them at least observed by the Catholics, principally those measures which touch the regime of the churches and the discipline of ecclesiastics. . . . In effect, the corruption and depravity of the clergy displeases all; the vices of priests have been the first cause of heresy; they have furnished matter for the discourses of heretics to draw upon the Church hatred and contempt and the discredit of her doctrines. The people consider less what priests teach than how they live, they are touched more by their example than by their words, and their bad morals destroy entirely the authority of their teaching. Please then, dear son, crush heresy in your kingdom and cut away the vices of ecclesiastics . . .<sup>10</sup>

Well had the Pope reason to write thus, for the vices of ecclesiastics, prevalent before, continued long after the revolt had broken out; they even increased under the influence of Protestantism. Thus Father Lainez, later General of the Society of Jesus, considered himself to have done good work (1543-1544) in the towns of northern Italy when he had persuaded some curates to hear the confessions of their flocks without charging a fee. Blessed Peter Faber working in Germany during the same period wondered that the number of renegades among the people was not even larger, for he considered conditions abundantly favorable to apostacy. He writes to St. Ignatius:

I wonder there are not twice or three times as many heretics as there are, because nothing leads to errors in belief so rapidly as a disordered life. It is not the false interpretations of scrip-

<sup>10</sup> Baronius-Laderchi, *Annales Ecclesiastici* (Roma, 1728), anno 1566, XXII, art. 41

ture, nor the sophistry which the Lutherans introduce into their sermons and disputes which have caused so many nations to apostatize and so many provinces and towns to revolt against religion. All the mischief is done by the scandalous lives of the clergy. Would there were in this city of Worms only two or three churchmen who were not living openly with women, or guilty of some other notorious crime. . . .<sup>11</sup>

Ignatius Loyola, however, did not have to be told this. He was fully aware of the condition of the clergy in Germany. He wrote to Peter Canisius, August 18, 1554:

Pastors who are Catholic in faith, indeed, but who seduce the people by their ignorance and the evil example of their public sins ought to be most severely punished, deprived of their incomes by the bishops and withdrawn altogether from the care of souls. It was their bad lives and ignorance that brought the pestilence of heresy upon Germany.<sup>12</sup>

That is what Pope Pius V wrote to Charles IX of France, as we have seen, and wrote again in June of that same year, 1566, to the Bishop of Munster: "We learn that the chief cause of such gross heresy in Germany is the wicked, indecent and disgraceful conduct of the clergy."<sup>13</sup>

Thus do the sources speak loudly and abundantly; thus do they proclaim the condition of the time and the chief causes of the Protestant Revolt. Sometimes the sources are eloquent, sometimes complaining, sometimes defiant, sometimes merely garrulous; always they are impressive. True, no sources, not even these, are to be accepted uncritically. Preachers exaggerate, and so do reformers, but when we have convergence such as this, including official pronouncements of Peter's See, the weight of evidence, illustrating truth, compels assent.

One important conclusion may be drawn from these documents: the highest authorities in the Church asserted that the abuses within the Church were the main causes of all the trouble, the prime factor in the Protestant Revolt. That is why most modern historians, both Catholic and non-Catholic, following the sources, teach that the religious revolution of the sixteenth century was made possible chiefly by a corrupt clergy and a corrupt administration. St. Pius V was not alone in saying it: "The vices of priests have been the first cause of heresy."

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EDITOR'S NOTE: Confession may be good for the Catholic soul. But the "Catholics" who became "Reformers" and shattered the unity of Christian Europe are not thereby justified. Not one of them was a saint on fire with a pure zeal for the cause of Christ. Instead of using their talents and opportunities to reform they revolted, leaving the grand housecleaning to be done by unselfish and saintly men. Moreover, the driving forces in the catastrophic change, the forces which account for its spread and permanence, were political, economic, social, and often sordidly personal.

<sup>11</sup> Johann Janssen, *History of the German People* (London, 1908ff.), VIII, 216, and Christopher Hollis, *Saint Ignatius* (Harper, 1931), p. 197.

<sup>12</sup> James Brodrick, *St. Peter Canisius* (Sheed & Ward, 1935), pp. 211f.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 634.—As for the religious houses, they too were largely decadent and corrupt. For the century preceding the revolt, more than half a hundred contemporary witnesses point to the evil state of a large percentage of monasteries and convents. This imposing stream of documentary evidence flows from the pens of Saints Bernardino of Siena and Antonio of Florence, of Popes Gregory XII, Innocent VIII, and Alexander VI, and of a host of other churchmen of the later Middle Ages.

## Records and Studies

Lawrence J. Kenny, S. J.

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Is there a neater set of books on any shelf than the thirty-two tall, uniform, strongly but tastily bound volumes\* issued by the United States Catholic Historical Society? To add a little of the spice of variety the eighteen books of the "Monograph Series" issued by the same Society might be made to stand beside the thirty-two, and there will be on the shelf a set of fifty substantial books that, better than the queen's daughter, will be beautiful not only within but exteriorly as well.

This Historical Society is a rather elite, one might almost think exclusive, organization. Its membership is less than four hundred. The volumes are sent annually to these; and if you have not been a member for long years, you may now despair of ever securing the complete half-hundred works; several of them are out of print; and rarely, if ever do any of these publications reach the second-hand market.

Would it not be the proper time, now at the completion of fifty volumes, for the Society to issue a General Index; and at the same time to open the ranks and invite or accept double or treble the present membership? There are at present but four archbishops,—no cardinal—and three bishops and forty-two of the diocesan clergy receiving the publications. Surely there are hundreds of people who would gladly make their bishop or pastor a life member of so truly honorable a society. All the volumes are replete with Catholic historical matter difficult, if at all possible, to find elsewhere, and never found told more interestingly and accurately.

Volume 32 so well sustains the high standard of its predecessors that if a new series were begun with the next issue, one could confidently expect that future issues, after so many years of sustained excellence, would show no deterioration. Among the several delicious articles in the present volume, the *piece de resistance*, is the history of our "Sisterhoods in the Spanish American War," by Sister Mary Magdalen Wirmel, O.S.F. It makes up half the volume, and tells the story, in as many chapters, of the Sisters of the eight different Congregations that engaged at that time in war-work. It doesn't even overlook the four Sisters of "The Congregation of American Sisters," Sister Mary Joseph Twobears and her companions, all American Indians, whose little order exhausted itself by this excessive contribution to patriotism. How thoroughly the author investigated her topic is evidenced by the first Appendix where the names of all 282 nuns, engaged in this work, are listed. Almost two-thirds, 180 to be exact, were Sisters of Charity of Emmitsburg, who strove to emulate the ever-memorable sacrifices of their predecessors in the Civil War. Like so many others in the earlier volumes of *Records and Studies*, this article is so thorough that it may be said to be the last word on this phase of American Catholic History.

Every article in the volume calls for encomium. Their titles is all that space permits here: "Catholic Training for Maryland Catholics, 1773-1786," by Joseph T. Durkin, S.J.; "A Great Southern Catholic [Judge W. J.

Gaston],” by Joseph Herman Schauinger; “A Confederate Chaplain’s War Journal,” by William H. Dodd; “Catholic Navy Chaplains,” by Thomas F. Meehan; “A Brownson National Memorial,” by M. P. Thomas; (The bronze memorial bust of Brownson was transferred by the New York civic authorities on June 1, 1941, from Riverside Drive to the grounds of Fordham University); “Echoes of the First World War,” by J. M. Butler. (The religious affiliation of the combatants in World War I and incidentally in World War II.)

The ever interesting but less important “Notes and Comments” this time tell of the relatives of Archbishop Ireland, Mother St. John of the Sisters of St. Joseph, and others of this family whose devoted lives made conspicuous contributions to the young American Church. “Our First Catholic University” probably closes a long controversy, and happily just where it started. When our most widely circulated Catholic weekly, in a puzzle contest, named eight “Universities” asking which was the oldest, the President of St. Louis University asked the editors why St. Louis University and St. Mary’s Seminary—if this may be called an University—were not listed among the eight. The present item names just these two schools. The next note, “Catholic Historical Index,” deserves to be an article, but its brevity places it here: “A card index of American Catholic history numbering over 235,000 entries,” we are informed, “has been in preparation at the University of Notre Dame, Indiana, since 1934. Rev. Thomas T. McAvoy, C.S.C., . . . is directing the work.” The last item tells that “The First American Novel” came from the pen of Thomas Atwood Digges of the old Catholic colonial family, whose manor, Warburton, was opposite Mount Vernon, Virginia.

\* *Historical Records and Studies*, Volume XXXII. United States Catholic Historical Society, Thomas F. Meehan, Editor. New York, 1941

## History in the High School

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FOR the average student nothing can take the place of regular tests. A poor class may almost require daily tests; an excellent class may get along well with a bi-weekly test. A full-period test each week is a good plan. Correcting tests is hard work, but it is the key to insuring your success in imparting knowledge.

Two general types of tests are popular: the objective tests and the essay tests. Various types of the former are used: (1) true-false; (2) completion; (3) matching; (4) identifying; (5) fill-in; (6) selection; (7) multiple-choice; (8) questions that can be answered in one word. These measure the ability of a student to memorize facts. They teach him care and exactness. They have considerable value in making the students hit the point of a question. As far as the teacher is concerned, they are very easy to correct. The boys can, in fact, correct each other’s papers.

Such tests cannot, of course, measure certain less tangible objectives: the ability to organize material, judgment on the relationship of events, or the expression of ideas in writing. Thus their exclusive use is not salutary. Give *essay* tests also; or better still, add

two or three essay questions to every *objective-type* test.

In preparing tests of this type, *avoid* identification questions that cover a *vast field*. A question like this might be found in a semester test:

(1) (Worth ten points.) Identify: Black Hole, Thomas More, Pride’s Purge, Mazzini, Kitchener’s Mob, Frederick the Great, Wallenstein, Zwinglianism, Louis XV, Mirabeau.

This one question requires the pupil to jump from 1760 to 1530 to 1650 to 1840; from India, to England, to Italy. And when he pants to the finish after that world jaunt (if he ever does) he has only one-tenth of the test written. This type of question confuses the minds and ruins the spirits of all but the best pupils. Require identifications on one topic and limit the length. For instance:

(2) Identify in ten words: Louis XVI, Mirabeau, Marie Antoinette, Turgot, Lafayette.

As to *true-false* tests, teachers have found two objections against them; they leave too much room for *guess-work*; and they sometimes leave *false* statements imprinted in the mind of the student.

A good practice in arranging tests is to make the first question simple. This will get the boys writing. They will gain confidence. Then you will find out what they know.

Don’t be easy in correcting the tests of those who read the questions inaccurately. Train them to *exactness*. If a boy gets a low test mark early in the year simply because he was not careful in reading the assignment, he will be much more careful during the rest of the term. As regards the history teacher’s attitude during a test, it should be the same as that of other experienced teachers. Aim, not at catching boys “cribbing,” but at *preventing* it. How? First, by giving reasonable tests; secondly, by motivation; thirdly, by careful supervision during the actual writing. If you do catch a boy copying, only complete destruction of his paper will deter him and others from trying again. A reduction of a mere ten or twenty points will not prevent further “cribbing.” In important tests, however, common sense requires a moderation of this procedure.

Avoid spoon-feeding the pupils by couching your essay questions in the language of the book. Make them *think out* matters, instead of relying on their memory. Show them how to tackle a question that at first sight might trip them. Have them question themselves about the matter. Simple key questions are the best, such as “Who, where, when, why, and the like.”

This question, for instance, “What was the difference between Luther’s break from the Church, and that of Henry VIII?” should provoke further questions, which the student would ask himself: Who were these men? In what countries did they live? Why did each become dissatisfied with the Church? The pupils could also be trained to make an outline of the matter.

In the preparation of quarterly or semester tests I prefer this method. Make a division of the field into four or five parts, giving a number of questions on each, from which the student must choose two in each field. This will give a check on the students’ knowledge of each major section of the matter. Include questions that will test their knowledge of facts, as well as their ability to use them.

## Book Reviews

*Inside Latin America*, by John Gunther. New York and London. Harper & Brothers. 1941. pp. xi + 498. \$3.50

This is not a great book and in many respects it is not even a good book. There is no question that Mr. Gunther is a brilliant journalist and a facile writer, but these qualities do not necessarily make him a successful analyst of one of the most complex of modern problems, namely Latin America. The title of the book, in the first place, is misleading. "Inside John Gunther in Latin America" might have been much more appropriate. He seems to have taken to Latin America a number of pre-conceived notions, seems to have sought data and personalities to confirm these notions, feels that he has found such without, perhaps, realizing that he was overlooking much that was tremendously more vital, and, finally, he has returned home to write another best-seller.

There are many points with which one might quarrel. Lack of an adequate historical grounding, for example, especially in the colonial backgrounds of our neighbors, has led the author into some rather sweeping statements which remind one of the days when the "Black Legend" was in the making. Again, the book shows an almost complete misappraisal of what the Catholic Church means in Latin American life, culture, and general outlook. The sooner our "good-willers" resign themselves to the fact, hard as it may be, that Latin America is Catholic, the better it will be all around. This fact is something which cannot be dismissed with a slur or merely left aside in purposeful oversight. Until such tactics are abandoned, no one is going to get "inside Latin America"; no one, for that matter, is going very far toward understanding our neighbors. Other points which might be signalized would carry this review much too far beyond its allotted space.

Of course, the work has good points. It hammers home a few very sensible ideas concerning attitude and behavior. It is excellent as a chatty Who's Who of Latin American politicians. It contains several very helpful charts. The general reader will, probably, learn much which he does not already know; the student of Latin America, very little. If you would read a book about which people will be talking, take the time. But please do not feel, when you have finished, that you are "inside Latin America."

JOHN F. BANNON

*Grey Eminence, a Study in Religion and Politics*, by Aldous Huxley. New York. Harper. 1941. pp. 342. \$3.50

When *Time* devotes two full pages to a biography of a barefoot friar who died three hundred years ago the curious reader is likely to be more curious, while the suspicious historian will be on the alert for distortions of fact. But Aldous Huxley is almost sure to get a hearing, no matter what he writes, and any reader who is willing to think will find it easy, and not unprofitable, to follow him in his wanderings between two worlds. When Huxley portrays the present blasé scene he usually plays the cynic, chiefly, we guess, because he sees so much that is wrong and doesn't know how to set it right. This first excursion of his into the field of biography is by no means a flight from reality. Rather it is a seeking of something more solid than the whirl and emptiness around him. We are not surprised that he should attempt this sort of historical study.

Huxley is a novelist, and here he has a ready-made romance. There is still room for deeper research into the life of the mystic who was a master intriguer, into the life of the man of prayer, of peace, of austere self-denial, who aided and abetted the *Realpolitik* of the mighty Richelieu. But the surface facts as they are told in a dozen fairly objective studies were ready to hand for the amateur historian. Moreover, the highly-charged spiritual atmosphere breathes through the voluminous literary masterpiece of Henri Bremond. Added to this, the author seems to have done some digging of his own in sections of the field beyond the reviewer's reach. Where the specialist might labor to set forth his findings in attractive dress, the facile "writer" had merely to exploit existing materials. The sum of human knowledge is not appreciably augmented thereby, but a vital chapter in the slow suicide of European civilization is laid open for less exacting readers.

The author's competence is that of a smart reporter in a foreign land among strange people whose language he is struggling to learn. If the reviewer is more amused than adversely

critical in his reaction to this non-Catholic portrayal of an intense religious scene, it is partly because he admires the author's effort to be sincere and partly because the combination of "mysticism" with less noble motives in his "grey eminence" is objectively so bewildering. A good Capuchin might resent the unveiling of the too-human frailties of a brother religious. A patriotic Frenchman may be half-ashamed, half-proud of the heartless greed that led immediately to the glories of the Grand Monarch, and prepared the way remotely for the iron imperialism of a later day. A less partisan critic is likely to weep for the folly in the boundless ambitions that were nursed "under the red robe" of Richelieu and under the grey cowl of his Man Friday.

For the uninitiated reader we should, perhaps have begun by stating that *Grey Eminence* is the story of Père Joseph, a Capuchin friar who rendered signal service to his order and to the Church, but who would have done more effective work for God and for souls had he kept his extremely adroit fingers out of high politics. Circumstances made Père Joseph a statesman and a diplomat. He was convinced, as maybe Richelieu was convinced, that he was using his talents to make a better world,—eventually. But before the bar of Divine justice the two great but misguided Catholics who pursued a purely secular policy to "save" Protestant Germany and crush the Hapsburgs by prolonging the agony and tragedy of the Thirty Years War will have a hard case to defend.

R. CORRIGAN

*Laval*, by Henry Torres. New York. Oxford University Press. 1941. pp. vi + 265. \$3.00

On July 12, 1940, Pierre Laval emerged from the seclusion forced upon him by the collapse of his cabinet in 1936. With the military debacle of the previous Spring the French Republic had ceased to be, and in the ensuing months Marshal Petain had fashioned a government of a highly "Socialist" character. In July Laval was named Vice-Premier, with the right of succession to the leadership of the state, in the event of Petain's death. As time passed, it became apparent that Laval was the favorite of the German authorities, and with the growth of this realization he has become the most hated man in France. He has been branded as a traitor, with the result that attempts have been made to assassinate him. Henry Torres was acquainted with Laval as a fellow barrister, officer of the Ministry of Justice, and member of the Chamber of Deputies, and with this intimate knowledge of his subject, combined with his practiced reporter's insight, Torres manages to give a good account of the elements in Laval's makeup that make him so highly satisfactory to Hitler.

It would be impossible for Torres, the most patriotic of Frenchmen, to be entirely objective in his treatment of the sorrowful period between the two world wars, so that the over-emphasis on the side of petty government incidents and large-scale financial manipulations in accounting for the downfall of France are easily forgiven, especially in this case, where even such distortion leads to a knowledge of the forces that brought Laval to his present position. It is to be regretted that more attention was not given to Laval's attitude towards the French Army during his premiership of 1935-1936; but, for its length and in accord with the purpose of the author, this book merits respectful attention. It is capably translated by Norbert Guterman and satisfactorily arranged, except for one fault—there is no index.

J. HANLEY

*The German Delegation at the Paris Peace Conference*, by Alma Luckau. New York. Columbia University Press. 1941. pp. xv + 522. \$5.00

Six weeks before the armistice of 1918 the German government wrote its first note asking for peace "on the basis of President Wilson's Peace Program." Eight months later, on June 28, 1919, a beaten and transformed Germany was forced to sign the Treaty of Versailles. The interim was filled with much pleading and protesting on the part of statesman and their expert advisers. All objections to the demands of the victorious Allies had to be presented in writing. The result is a sizable volume of authentic records.

Every good library should have this collection of documents. It is a handy book of reference. By reason of its close continuity and the intrinsic interest of what it contains it can be read with pleasure by the average student. At the present moment, when there is a strong feeling toward revising the

"revisionists," it will help the sincere historian to see the facts more clearly. It is, in fact, the only remedy for a confused state of mind created by journalists and pamphleteers. Particularly, it may contribute toward a more mature political wisdom, which will be needed when the world is again faced with the task of restoring peace. Miss Luckau's Introduction is a fairly adequate account of German thought during the period covered.

R. CORRIGAN

**God is My Fuehrer**, by Martin Niemoeller. New York. Philosophical Library and Alliance Book Corporation. 1941. pp. 294. \$2.75

Pastor Martin Niemoeller, famous prisoner of the Nazis, did not essay to provide material for a great book; nor did he do so. The present volume is a collection of the last twenty-eight sermons delivered before his confinement in the concentration camp of Sachsenhausen: they are simple, not too closely reasoned, not displaying a profound acquaintance with Scripture or history, but intensely sincere in their message to "render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God . . ." Their whole importance derives from their having been delivered by a man who has shown his superb courage by daring to preach fearlessly despite political threats, and who has heroically endured the horrors of the concentration camp in witness of his sincerity. The book, of course, is not published by Pastor Niemoeller himself, since he is either dead or still in prison.

The preface by Thomas Mann does not contribute much to the subject. It is an open, emotional appeal for intervention, not always substantiated by facts. ". . . bludgeons and leather whips can flog into strips every kind of force, however, manly, and reduce it into a heap of whimpering pain. Indeed, this is all that a Nazi knows; it is the special Nazi discovery." Now, a merely casual recollection of history would reveal the human race's earlier acquaintance with the effect of torture: witness the Communists in the Soviet Union and in Spain, the Czar's pious hypocrites, the apostles of the "pure Gospel" in Reformation times—to say nothing of the Spanish Inquisition and our own American police. Many of the Nazis are undoubtedly horrendous brutes, but it is not convincing to give them credit for inventing an institution that has blackened and reddened all the pages of history. In conclusion, Pastor Niemoeller is greater than this book.

S. J. RUEVE

**All the Day Long**, by Daniel Sargent. New York. Longmans. 1941. pp. x + 259. \$2.50

In 1917, while the United States of America was sending the flower of its youth to the Western Front to gain a spotted and ephemeral peace, James Anthony Walsh was preparing to send a small, but picked, spiritual army to the Far East in order to bring to Chinese pagans the true and lasting peace of Christ. In *All the Day Long* Mr. Sargent gives the life story of this great American missionary, the co-founder of Maryknoll.

After a few years at Boston College and at Harvard, James Walsh entered the Sulpician seminary of the Archdiocese of Boston where he was captivated by the heroic life of Théopane Venard and fired with a missionary zeal he never lost. After ordination he became diocesan director of the Society of the Propagation of the Faith and editor of the *Field Afar*. His lifetime hope was to make America mission-conscious. He wanted the United States to take its place as a missionary country. In 1911 his greatest hopes came to be realized when together with a veteran country missionary from North Carolina, Father Price, he founded what was to be the great American missionary society, the Maryknollers. Father Walsh lived to see his congregation grow mightily, receive full Papal approval, and enjoy in an extraordinary manner the Providence of God.

The story is told in an interesting manner. The style is not flecked by some of the empty journalistic rhetoric that is found in other of Mr. Sargent's books. *All the Day Long* is a worthy contribution to contemporary history and biography and deserves to be read by every live-minded American Catholic.

JEROME E. BREUNIG

**Horatio Gates: Defender of American Liberties**, by Samuel White Patterson. New York. Columbia University Press. 1941. pp. xv + 466. \$4.25

Horatio Gates has received scant grace at the hands of American historians. In general, he is either portrayed as the conspirator of the "Conway Cabal," or the coward of Camden. But is this the real Gates? Professor Patterson says definitely that it is not. In this volume, the result of long and patient research, mostly into original sources, he denies the existence of a determined and intended plot on the part of Gates against the authority of Washington, and he explains away the rapid retreat from the field after the disastrous battle with Cornwallis.

Instead of the time-honored picture of this Revolutionary War general, we see the able soldier, the capable strategist, the effective disciplinarian, the efficient adjutant, the ardent patriot ready and willing to suffer any personal loss for the cause he espoused,—even refusing to leave his military post to see his dying wife at a time when his country's welfare was in jeopardy.

Evidently Gates was a man of ability. He had had experience as a major officer in the English army. He was placed in command of the Northern army when Burgoyne came down from Canada, and he was placed in charge of the Southern army when Cornwallis swept through the Carolinas. It is high time, then, that he be given some faint measure of praise.

The value of this study by Professor Patterson would have been enhanced greatly if he had given references to the sources he used in certain of the more debatable points. In general, though, the references and bibliography are excellent.

MARTIN HASTING

**The Franciscan Missions of California**, by John A. Berger. New York. Putnam's Sons. 1941. pp. xiv + 392. \$3.50

The chain of old Franciscan Missions in California constitutes one of that state's most revered and well known historical monuments. Each golden link in that chain, each mission, has a story all of its own. The very names of the old mission stations—San Diego, San Juan Capistrano, Santa Barbara, San Luis Obispo, Carmel—ring with romance reminiscent of happy, singing Indians, dusty-brown-robed padres, captains and cavaleros.

This well written and nicely illustrated story of the missions will find favor with all those interested in them. Those who have seen the missions will find it a pleasant "refresher." Those who intend to see them will find it a rather complete guide. Those who may never see them will find it profitable reading. Besides general glimpses of mission-system and California history, the author presents individual pen-pictures of the various mission centers from their foundation through their period of service, years of decline and decay (if they experienced such), time of restoration (if they were repaired) to the present day.

MARTIN HASTING

**A History of the Far East in Modern Times**, (fourth edition), by Harold M. Vinacke. New York. Crofts. 1941. pp. xvii + 641. \$5.00

The quality of this work may be judged by the number of editions though it makes no pretense of being "popular." It is a compact and scholarly survey of just exactly the field indicated in the title, both comprehensive and workmanlike throughout. As a textbook, it is very well constructed with good reading lists and an unusually useful and sensible appendix. Though written as a college text, the work deserves a place in any high school library.

The term "Far East" is very narrowly interpreted, being limited almost entirely to China and Japan with brief sections on the Philippines, the Dutch East Indies and Indo-China. India and the Russia Orient are treated only incidentally.

The record of Western "civilization" as here set forth is a rather sordid one, sufficiently sordid indeed to cause wonder at the author's rather childlike faith that "Science" is going to provide a solution for the problems of either East or West.

BERNARD W. DEMPSEY

**The Potsdam Fuehrer, Frederick William I, Father of Prussian Militarism**, by Robert Ergang. New York. Columbia University Press. 1941. pp. 290. \$3.00

When the reviewer first took up this book, he did so fearing that it might be an example of the wartime historical "scholarship" which so disgraced the profession during the last War. However, although it seems to be rather clear that Professor Ergang is not in full sympathy with Frederick William, yet he manages to remain "historical." In spite of a undistinguished style in general, the book is not at all dull. The story abounds in personal traits and anecdotes which make it vivid and fascinating reading. But it is here perhaps that the author could have been a little fairer. A work which draws too heavily upon the cynical memoirs and letters of the eighteenth century is liable to be as one-sided in emphasis as one which draws too heavily on the *Vitae Sanctorum* of the Middle Ages—the former will be too depreciatory and the latter too laudatory. And neither are quite true to history or to human personalities.

As a result of this present war we can look for a greater emphasis on German history in this country. If Germany wins, she will be the great power of Europe and the world; if Germany loses, we shall have stories of the rise and fall of the Prussian Empire. The unique phenomenon in Modern

European History of a nation built entirely on the military ideal is one which lends more glamor to the pages of history than the stodgy annals of commercial growth. And Prussia has been the most consistent problem on the international European scene, save for an interlude of some sixty years, from the early eighteenth century to the present. This brief biography of Frederick William I is an interesting introduction to the beginnings of this situation.

R. L. PORTER

**Diary and Letters of Josiah Gregg**, edited by Maurice Garland Fulton, With an introduction by Paul Horgan. Norman. University of Oklahoma Press. 1941. pp. xvii + 413. \$3.50

This volume is the first of two—the second is promised “shortly”—which will bring the post-Santa Fe-trade decade (1840-1850) of Josiah Gregg's career to light and will further advance the reputation of the already famous author of *Commerce of the Prairies* as one of the best among the early historians of the Greater Southwest. Gregg has always been a character to intrigue writers on frontier topics. Prior to the publication of this new material one knew just enough about the man to whet the appetite for more about Gregg and, especially, for more of his fine observations on persons, places, and events, with whom he was known to have been connected during the last ten years of his life. From time to time partial discoveries of “Gregg-ana” were made and the materials found their way into print, but these were tantalizingly fragmentary. The editor and his collaborator, Mr. Horgan, are, therefore, rendering a real service with their present enterprise.

Mr. Horgan prefaces the materials proper with an interesting biographical sketch, which carries down to the time limit of this first volume, namely to 1847. One wonders if it might not prove more valuable undivided—the conclusion will appear in the next volume? The division of the materials themselves is satisfactory enough, for 1847 does offer justification for such a break. Through them we follow Gregg on his last trip from Santa Fe, as he decides to give up the trading venture. Next, from June 1841 to June 1842, we are in the Texas with him, during days when Texas was an independent republic. The years 1843 and 1844 found him on the Atlantic seaboard for a long period, arranging for the publication of his book and seeing it through the press. There was the curious interlude in the next years when Gregg studied medicine at Louisville. The old longing for the prairies, however, came back, and about the same time the United States determined to settle the differences with Mexico by force of arms. Gregg's aid was enlisted by the Arkansas Volunteers, and the early months of 1847 found him pushing into Mexico with Wool's Column. The diary and letters for this last period are very valuable. The editor has included several of Gregg's sketch maps in the work. Regretfully we leave Gregg on the eve of the Battle of Buena Vista and hope that the editor will not make us wait too long for the rest of the story, for we are quite sure that “Adventures in Mexico and California, 1847-1850” will prove quite as interesting as “Southwestern Enterprises, 1840-1847” have.

JOHN F. BANNON

**The Totalitarian War—And After**, by Count Carlo Sforza. Chicago. University of Chicago Press. 1941. pp. ix + 120. \$1.25

These are the Green Foundation Lectures of Westminster College for 1941. They express the views on the current war, its immediate causes, and probable aftermath of a master in the science of diplomacy. Count Sforza's views reflect the experiences of his lengthy career in the Italian foreign service, culminating in his appointment to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and his expulsion by Mussolini. The nature of the lectures does not allow for any exhibition of the deep discernment that is his in these matters, but the author enlightens the reader with many thought-provoking incidents that led to the present state of international relations. The role of the Little Entente, with its treacherous treatment at the hands of the appeasers in France and England takes up a large part of the discussions, and it is here that the student of current history may observe more than ordinary enlightenment on the state of European diplomatic practice before September, 1940. No one can hold the lecturer to a rule of consistency in his quotations, especially in respect to his views on controversial subjects, but it does seem to be asking too much for the reader to accept Aquinas and Croce as approaches to the same ethical conclusion. Aside from weaknesses on the side of fundamental philosophical postulates, these lectures afford a stimulating approach to the immediate problems of the present military operations, but the obvious lack of rigidity of philosophical tenets makes Count Sforza's recommendations and forecasts

of the future course of international relations almost entirely inadequate.

J. HANLEY

**The British Empire, 1815-1939**, by Paul Knaplund. New York. Harper. 1941. pp. xx + 850. \$4.00

It would be hard for the reviewer to work up anything like strong feeling, either for this book or against it. The author has given us a prosy factual account of Britain and her imperial problems, of the evolution of the Commonwealth, of the intertwining of interest and sentiment which has maintained the vast organization intact to meet the present crisis. The life-and-death struggle against the Nazi onslaught has awakened a new curiosity in the serious student who wants to know the facts of political history. A course based on a textbook of this kind would fit nicely into an undergraduate program. But for the general reader whose despairing gaze is fixed on the future and its hardly convincing promise of world unity the development of a mighty empire into a more or less voluntary commonwealth of nations can have the practical value of a model historical precedent.

R. CORRIGAN

**West of the River**, by Dorothy Gardiner. New York. Crowell. 1941. pp. viii + 347. \$3.50

This volume is rather difficult to criticize. The general reader or the student interested in obtaining a comprehensive sketch-survey of the history of America “west of the river,” the Missouri, will find it useful and enjoyable reading. This historian interested in accuracy and technicalities of form will find it disconcerting.

Miss Gardiner has packed her work with ideas and information of all kinds, and has presented them in an easy-flowing style. This does not mean that it is a hodge-podge, far from it. The arrangement and division of the subject matter is as satisfactory as could be expected from the seeming abundance of materials used and intention of the author. And this brings us to our second point. Since Miss Gardiner did not attempt to write as a professional historian, some of the small, and even more serious inaccuracies may be forgiven. The method used for footnote references is much too simple and inconsistent. Some general impressions of the Spanish in the Southwest, which the volume presents, are not entirely correct. Isolated statements here and there may be questioned. For example, an Indian raid within ten miles of Denver (303) at the time of the “scare” is a little too close for historical comfort.

MARTIN HASTING

**The Wild Seventies**, by Denis Tilden Lynch. New York. Appleton-Century. 1941. pp. xv + 547. \$5.00

Give a newspaperman a story packed with sensation, and the result cannot fail to be interesting reading, if not always the best history. This present volume is a case in point. Mr. Lynch had more than enough material at hand to write a rapid-moving account of a “shameful decade.” And he seems to have made the best of it. Often, though, he allows himself to dwell too long on some of the more lurid moments in his story of the political, social and moral corruption that was part of the history of America in the years between the New Year's Eves of 1869 and 1879. Because of this, he gives the impression that practically everything in American life was tainted.

The picture of corruption in the federal government, exemplified by the carpet-bag government of the South, the Whiskey Ring and the election of Hayes, of corruption in city government, illustrated by the notorious Tweed Ring of New York, and of corruption in business, shown in the Credit Mobilier, are drawn with vivid, realistic strokes. Social life, in which Mr. Lynch has the slum, saloon, rat-baiting and the like play a prominent part, is as ruthlessly portrayed. All in all, it is an interesting story. If one remembers that the author is showing just one side of the case and is, at times, led by a tendency to make a lurid story even more so, it is a fairly accurate account.

MARTIN HASTINGS

**World Economic Survey, 1939-1941**. Economic Intelligence Service, League of Nations, Geneva. 1941. pp. 275. \$2.50

“A volume such as the present cannot attempt to deal with the whole kaleidoscopic scene of the war:” but a successful attempt has been made to trace the “shift from welfare economy to war economy and especially the organization of production and distribution of goods by the state.” (pp. 264, 269). In many cases, the diagrams present tragic pictures more strikingly than any elaborate eloquence. Since one of the most unhappy by-products of war is ignorance, Princeton and Columbia Universities are to be greatly commended for keeping alive this phase

of the work of the League. The volume is distributed in this country through the International Documents Service of the Press of the latter University.  
B. W. D.

**A History of Chile**, by Luis Galdames. Translated and edited by Isaac Joslin Cox. Chapel Hill. University of North Carolina Press. 1941. pp. 565. \$5.00

This is the fourth volume to be published in the excellently conceived and scholarly executed "Inter-American Historical Series." In every way it is worthy of its predecessors and sets very high standards of editing for future contributors. The work of Señor Galdames needs neither introduction nor comment. For better than three decades it has ranked high among the studies of Chile's most interesting history. That, of course, was the reason which led the editors to select it. To Professor Cox we are indebted for making it available to a wider circle of readers by his fine translation. To him also must go thanks for his helpful editorial notes, for the addition of an extensive and very thoughtful section called "Biographical Notes," which heightens the value of the book considerably, and, finally, for bringing the bibliography up to date. On these scores his is a real contribution.  
JOHN F. BANNON

**What is Democracy?**, by Charles E. Merriam. Chicago. University of Chicago Press. 1941. pp. xi + 115. \$1.00

**Democracy in American Life**, by Avery Craven. Chicago. University of Chicago Press. 1941. pp. xi + 150. \$1.00

These volumes contain the first two of six series of lectures delivered during the university year 1940-1941 at the University of Chicago under the sponsorship of the Walgreen Foundation, the purpose of which is "to foster an intelligent citizenship and patriotism, not narrowly nationalistic in their expression, and with thought and knowledge much more than emotion as their foundation." In their published form they particularly "invite laymen and not specialists to be their readers."

These first two volumes eminently achieve their purpose. Both sets of lectures are exceptionally readable, thoroughly enjoyable, and at the same time informative and inspirational. They differ widely one from the other, those of Mr. Merriam—*What is Democracy?*—presenting the thought of an idealist and enthusiast; while the four longer lectures of Mr. Craven, as the subtitle indicates—"A Historical Review"—give one the benefit of the mature and enlightening conclusions of a widely read student and analyst of the causes and developments of history.

*What is Democracy?* consists of five lectures of uniform length, the first two of which are concerned with the definition of democracy and the removal of misunderstandings. There follow discussions of "Democracy and Equality" and "Democracy and Liberty," while the final lecture is of a more practical nature, "Making Democracy Work." The author is most explicit in affirming that democracy is the "best form of political association that the mind of man has been able to devise," and is equally positive that, no matter what the attacks against it, or no matter what the immediate result of the present cataclysm might be—"democracy . . . will never die," but "will rise from the ashes of demolished homes, and factories, and institutions of all kinds and again make its way among men." The trend of his argument is based upon five "assumptions implicit in democracy." The worth and validity of the system flows from the recognition of their truth—and they are true, and success for the democratic form of government is dependent upon intelligent and far-sighted planning with the purpose of making those assumptions work. "Those persons who charge that a democratic government cannot plan, although other governments may, are in fact re-echoing the age-old snobbery that popular rule is impossible as it is undesirable."

*Democracy in American Life* is a series of but four lectures discussing successively the thought and influence of Thomas Jefferson on American democratic life, the part that "the West" played in our political development, the relationship of the Civil War to our democratic ideals, and lastly, the inroads made by "Industrial Capitalism" on traditional American institutions. Few books as brief as the present volume offer so satisfying and fundamentally true a discussion of four topics possessing the breadth and vital importance of those which Mr. Craven has selected. His lectures are candid, realistic and cogent, joining an insight that is profound to a mode of expression that is lucid. The reader easily visualizes the growth of the West and can feel the impact of its spirit upon our national policies: no Southerner could object to his analysis of the causes that precipitated this nation into civil conflict; the delineation of the manner in which industrial capitalism has supplanted the

equilibrium which democracy should establish between liberty and equality is powerful and convincing. Nor should any admirer of William Jennings Bryan miss this appreciative portrayal of his character and efforts.  
P. J. HOLLORAN

**A History of Europe**, by W. Eugene Shiels, S.J. Chicago. Loyola University Press. 1941. pp. xvi + 383. \$2.00

It is a keen satisfaction not often experienced in the realm of history texts to come upon a scholarly presentation with an underlying philosophy which can be accepted without question.

Obviously *A History of Europe* by W. Eugene Shiels, S.J. is a text book that "has grown out of classroom experience." It is alive. It points the way—not to the impossible—but to objectives within the reach of college freshmen. Instructors presenting an introductory course in European History will find Father Shiels' book stimulating, in some instances challenging. There is, for example, that remark in the Introduction—"Of greater importance than the lectures are the weekly discussions."

Any selection of topics in a field so vast must necessarily be arbitrary. The question arises, therefore, how serviceable would the book be to students sitting under an instructor whose approach to the subject matter differed rather considerably from that of the author. Again, since continuous reference assignments are to be given in standard texts would this not necessitate the purchase by many students of the standard reference in addition to Father Shiels' outline? A reference book provided for every ten or fifteen students may be sufficient under ideal circumstances—a simplified freshman program, rapid adjustment to college life, for instance.

Although the Twelfth Century Renaissance is adequately treated, the term Twelfth Century Renaissance does not appear. Non-Catholic historians constantly apply this term to the flowering of medieval intellectual life. Some even defend the thesis that the *great* Renaissance is that of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Few are the freshmen who have grasped the importance of these centuries in the development of modern civilization. They have studied the Middle Ages but have never considered as a whole the great achievements of the Middle Ages. The very term Twelfth Century Renaissance focuses their attention and may make them more aware of their Catholic heritage.

Again, a subject as well as a term that might find a more prominent place is the conciliar movement. Countless are those today who are seeking truth, but we who have hold of it cannot pass it on unless we establish sympathetic contact with the seekers. We must get their point of view. Now the conciliar theory was one of those underlying the Reformation, and its influence is still felt today. It deserves more than passing mention even in a general course of European History.

Then there is no mention of *Il Principe* nor any reference to Machiavelli before Chapter LXIV which deals with nineteenth century alliances. But Hannibal and the Battle of Marathon are there, though both were excluded from another widely used text.

There are a few inaccuracies, but the book is the work of a scholar, of a thinker more interested in making his students think than in cramming them with facts. It is divided into fifty-nine chapters so planned as to allow two lecture periods and one discussion period a week. Following each chapter is a helpful list of Suggested Reading for those who are able to take it.  
K. CURTIN

**The United States and the Independence of Latin America, 1800-1830**, by Arthur Preston Whitaker. Baltimore. Johns Hopkins Press. 1941. pp. xx + 632. \$3.75.

Three years ago when Professor Whitaker delivered this 1938 series of the "Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History" his topic was timely. The events of the past few years have made the subject of his discussions and researches even more so. There is a most curious parallelism between the period which he analyses and the period through which we are passing, between the European situation which formed the back-drop to his period and the overseas situation of today, between the interest of the United States toward the Latin America of that day and our contemporary interest in and preoccupation with the nations to the south. History may not repeat itself in detail, but it assuredly does a mighty fine job of repeating itself along general lines. But, quite apart from this most intriguing phenomenon of historical second performances, this present work is more than worthy of consideration.

It is a work of careful scholarship and fine insight. Latin America of the early decades of the nineteenth century played

a role in world politics, just as it plays one today. Those decades saw the Spanish colonies make their break with the mother country and Brazil become a kingdom in its own right. There was sympathy on the part of the young and vigorous United States for the ambitions of those embryonic nations. A realization of their potential importance to ourselves dawned upon the nation. A policy toward the Spanish Americans became part and parcel of our foreign diplomacy. It varied from president to president, changed and re-adapted itself to conform with or defend against European developments, and, finally, crystallized in the expression of our Monroe Doctrine. Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Clay, John Quincy Adams, diplomatic and commercial agents, editors and propagandists, merchants and adventurers, and the American public at large had opinions, fears, anxieties, likes and dislikes. We learned something about Latin America, made our first faltering attempts to throw off the incubus of the "Black Legend," found that others besides ourselves were interested. Professor Whitaker's book is solid, informative, and, above all, timely. It is a valuable study for those devotees of "good-neighborliness" who feel that the historical approach is basic to an understanding of Latin America.

JOHN F. BANNON

**The Growth of European Civilization** (Second edition), by A. E. R. Boak, Albert Hyma and Preston Slosson. New York. Crofts. 1941. pp. xxv + 488. 638. \$4.50

Back in November, 1938, one of our competent and very conscientious reviewers introduced the first edition of this work to our readers. He pronounced it "on the whole fair and free from bias . . . as fine a survey of European history as one can expect in a work of this kind." He pointed out a few "slips" but recommended the book "without hesitation." One of our very alert, and certainly conscientious, readers thought the review altogether too favorable and, in her turn, added a score of statements to which she objected.

The editor is in the peculiar position of having to agree with both the reviewer and the critic. Nor is he merely wiggling out of a difficulty when he assures the critic that in her hands this book, and a dozen others like it, will be relatively harmless. Furthermore, there is no flawless textbook "of this kind" now in existence or, so far as we know, in preparation. For those who are wedded to the use of any of the numerous thousand-page surveys the remedy lies in eternal vigilance and common sense. Until the dawning of a brighter day our solution, aired at considerable length in these columns, lies in providing the student with a shorter text to be supplemented by frequent excursions to the library. The first valiant attempt to implement this idea has been made by Father W. Eugene Shiels, whose book is reviewed in this issue of the BULLETIN. A similar epitome of western civilization by Father John F. Bannon is now in press.

R. CORRIGAN

**Germanizing Prussian Poland, the H-K-T Society and the Struggle for the Eastern Marches in the German Empire, 1894-1919**, by Richard Wonsler Tims. New York. Columbia University Press. 1941. pp. 312. \$4.25

Historians who have been following with special interest the policy pursued by the present-day Nazi government of creating a unified European National State with Germany at its head will find Mr. Tims' book very helpful for attaining an understanding of an organization whose purpose was to promote German nationalism and patriotism. That organization was the "German Eastern Marches Association," or the H-K-T Society, as it came to be called from the initial letters of its three founders and leaders, Hansemann, Kennemann, and Tiedemann, who formed a trio of millionaire-farmer nationalists. Of all the numerous German patriotic organizations which existed between 1890 and 1919, none was more indefatigable in arousing a spirit of German nationalism than the Hakatists, as the members of this organization were called.

The thesis of this book which is evident from the title, begins its study with the year 1890, when one-fifth of all the Poles in Europe were living within the boundaries of the Prussian state. This minority presented a problem which in many respects was similar to that which England has had with Ireland. This problem involved religious, political, social, economic and national differences. The stage of the conflict between the two nationalities was the *Ostmarken* or eastern borderlands or Marches which comprised the four eastern-most provinces of Prussia—East Prussia, West Prussia, Posen and Silesia—where Poles lived

intermingled with Germans, particularly in Posen and West Prussia. How successful the leaders and members of the H-K-T Society were in awakening in the German nation a realization of the "Polish peril and menace" which was threatening the Empire from the East, and what influence their propaganda had in determining government policy and the shaping of German nationalism during the period from Bismarck's chancellorship to the World War, is the main scope of the book.

As the author remarks in the preface, the story is primarily about Germans, and the materials used in it are consequently almost entirely German. The work is well annotated. The twenty-page bibliography will furnish first hand source material, obtained principally in Berlin and at Poznan, Poland. That part of the book which treats the economic question may be a bit uninteresting to some readers, on account of the numerous statistics. This book is recommended to those who are interested in knowing some factors which helped in shaping that type of German nationalism which has become of such world-shaking importance.

LEONARD PIOTROWSKI

**The Fall of the Napoleonic Kingdom of Italy (1814)**, by R. John Rath. New York. Columbia University Press. 1941. pp. 247. \$3.00

In May, 1805, the Kingdom of Italy was erected and "amidst the joyful acclamations of the people, Napoleon was formally crowned king in the Milanese cathedral." Nine years later the return of Austria was welcomed by *Te Deums* in the same cathedral. Revolutionary "liberty" had been paid for in considerable quantities of loot that went to Paris. And the Napoleonic regime meant huge demands in men and money for imperial wars. When the Austrians came back they had to contend with much underground resentment, generated by liberal and national writers, by secret societies and by "unauthorized" British intrigue. But the Austrians remained in control until a new Italy drove them out of Lombardy with French help in 1859, and out of Venetia with Prussian help in 1860.

Not so long ago, it was the fashion to sneer at Metternich and the Hapsburgs. But the Congress of Vienna, in which the liberal idealism of the czar played a role similar to that of an American president at a later date, can stand comparison with the Congress of Versailles. In both, good intentions and selfish interests abound; the best-laid plans of both were wrecked by human mistakes and the shifting forces of history. Doctor Rath has given us an acceptable and very compact dissertation on the events of a single year in a restricted area. His documentation is impressive, his treatment judicious and his presentation of the facts easy to read.

R. CORRIGAN

**The Course of Europe Since Waterloo**, by Walter Phelps Hall and William Stearns Davis. New York. Appleton-Century. 1941. pp. xviii + 901. \$4.00

To those who are familiar with *Europe Since Waterloo*, by William Stearns Davis, this recent volume, *The Course of Europe Since Waterloo*, will be of special interest. Those who wish a good companion text for studying the period, will find it a complete and readable volume. Professor Hall has incorporated into his work much of the material from Dr. Davis' book, rearranging, synthesizing, and adapting it to his particular needs. The matter subsequent to Versailles is entirely new and well developed despite the fact that it is practically contemporary history.

The theme of the book is the course of Liberalism from Waterloo to the present. It is very well handled and developed in an objective manner that does credit to the author. In the treatment of all the intertwining "isms" and movements which spring up and follow each other in the one hundred and thirty years, simplicity and clarity are especially noticeable. Among the best single topics are the discussions of the Russian slave question, Gladstone's great ministry and the Irish question, the Romantic period, and the sequence of events since the First World War. The volume concludes with a survey of the past five years which is commendable for its orderly and simple presentation of events, thus affording the reader an opportunity of obtaining a rapid bird's-eye view of the gradual build-up to World War Number Two.

Objectivity is the key feature of the book. For example: in the chapter of "Science and Religion in the Nineteenth Century," it is gratifying to note the clear and precise explanation of the doctrines of the Immaculate Conception and the infallibility of the Pope. On the other hand, the Darwinian theory of "The Origin of Species" is unduly praised and its author along with "Bulldog" Huxley given too much prominence.

Again in the Spanish contest of Loyalist and Rebel which began in 1936, there is a very evident condemnation of the Communist Loyalists, but are we wrong in thinking Professor Davis takes the term "Rebel" too literally?

The general makeup and style is good; the number of graphs, particularly those towards the end of the volume, add to the clearness and comprehensiveness of the subject matter. The supplementary reading list is ample and has an added advantage for many undergraduate students in this, that it lists only works printed in the English language. J. J. CAMPBELL

**Europe Since 1914** (Fifth edition), by F. Lee Bennis. New York. Crofts. 1941. pp. xiv + 998. \$3.75

**European History Since 1870** (Second edition), by F. Lee Bennis. New York. Crofts. pp. xviii + 1061. \$4.50

Both or either of these books can be used in the classroom, consulted occasionally or read through from cover to cover on a few long winter nights. Both are revisions, but the revision in each case consists in a shifting of material and the addition of a final chapter. Since the first volume appeared in 1930, and the second in 1938, reviewers have been rather generous in their chorus of approval, and the publisher has been cheered by the demand for reprintings. Both books provide the factual data for a panoramic survey chiefly of the political scene, with a minimum of interpretation. Where the reviewer is inclined to criticize it is in matters in which there is question not of positive statements, but rather of emphasis and proportion. Either book is a good investment. R. CORRIGAN

**Anthony Wayne, Trouble Shooter of the American Revolution**, by Harry Emerson Wildes. New York. Harcourt, Brace & Co. 1941. pp. xii + 514. \$3.75

One of the more picturesque figures of the American Revolutionary period was "Mad Anthony" Wayne, speculator, soldier, planter, potential hero, would-be politician, playboy and social dandy. Loud-speaking and confident, a firm believer in self, Wayne quickly gained the recognition, if not the admiration, of his Pennsylvania contemporaries. As a leader of men in the army of the Revolution Wayne distinguished himself by his courage and daring, being especially conspicuous in the successful storming of Stony Point. His appointment in 1792 to the head of the American military forces paved the way for his greatest service to the growing nation. In the Battle of Fallen Timbers Wayne completely defeated his Indian foes, forcing them to sign the treaty of Greenville which opened to pioneer civilization the whole vast territory of the north-west.

As a biography, the book has its merits, although the picture that the author draws of Wayne's private life is neither appealing nor complimentary. The man was of a tempestuous disposition, quick to anger but not quick to forgive and forget. His quarrels with soldiers and officers, notably with St. Clair, were furious and notorious. Although he worked his men hard and expected much of them, he was nevertheless considerate of their needs. One fine point in his character was his constant concern for the material wants of the soldiers under his command. It is in the presentation of the military phase of Wayne's career that Mr. Wildes is at his best, and the account he gives of the hardships of Continental army life is both interesting and informative.

The volume is based on some ten thousand of Wayne's letters, most of which have not been at the disposal of earlier writers. The new material has given the author an opportunity to construct a more complete and authoritative interpretation of one of the lesser heroes of the American Revolution. Many new points have been uncovered concerning Wayne's activities as a planter in Georgia following the close of the Revolution. It must be admitted, however, that the work lacks proportion in certain respects. Too much attention has been given to Wayne's relations with women, his flirtations, and his habit of drink. The author might well have shown a less cavalier spirit in his treatment of this phase of the subject. The reader can have little respect for a man who neglected his wife for the delight of other women's company. EUGENE H. KORTH

**James Madison the Virginia Revolutionist**, by Irving Brant. New York. Bobbs-Merrill. 1941. pp. 458. \$4.50

The attractive jacket of this book would lead one to suppose that it is just another popular biography in the Strachey manner

but it emphatically is not. Mr. Brant has given us a scholarly study of the early phases of Madison's long career. The book starts with a discussion of Madison's ancestry and carries the story of his life to his departure for the Continental Congress in 1780. Mr. Brant enjoys himself in debunking lofty claims to gentle blood. One cannot but applaud his democratic attitude towards the pinchbeck aristocracy—not of the founding fathers—but of those twentieth century Americans who gush over titles, and consider ancestry more important than great deeds. Madison needs no noble forbears to enhance the glory of his name, and if the first Madison to reach America were just a plain ship carpenter, the great Virginian's reputation will lose none of its luster for all that.

The author takes issue with Claude Van Tyne on the question of national feeling during the revolution, and presents well-reasoned arguments based on not an isolated statement but a series of pronouncements and actions which leave the reader convinced that Madison was definitely national minded rather than state-minded during the critical years of the revolution.

It is interesting to note that Bellarmine was among the authors read by Madison. One would hardly term Socinus a Catholic. The author wastes too much time laboring (in vain) to prove that Madison had a sense of humor.

Mr. Brant's study of the early life of the founding father from Montpelier is a welcome addition to the literature on the Revolution. He goes into great detail and not only uses many documents but shows a discriminating spirit of analysis in their interpretation. We could use more monographs of this type. JOSEPH S. BRUSH

**War Chief Joseph**, by Helen A. Howard. Caldwell, Iowa. The Caxton Printers. 1941. pp. 362. \$3.50

Many who are familiar with Sitting Bull and Tecumseh, Powhatan and Pontiac know little or nothing about one of the greatest of the Indian warriors, Chief Joseph of the Nez Perces. The Nez Perces were among the better types of Pacific North-western Indians. They were represented in the mission sent by the redman to St. Louis to seek Christian missionaries, although the group to which Joseph belonged was pagan. These Indians dwelt in the Wallowa district of Eastern Oregon, and since many of them belonged to the Ghost Dance religion they had more devotion to the land than has the ordinary nomad. Already in 1855 the Nez Perces had ceded much of their land to the whites, and in 1863 several Nez Perces chieftains agreed to live on the Lapwai reservation in Idaho. The band to which Joseph belonged together with several other groups refused to sign the treaty and continued to live in the Wallowa country. Though President Grant had made this country a reserve for them, the Indians on their part did not confine themselves to it, and in 1877 the order conceding the Wallowa territory as a reserve was revoked. In 1877 Gen. O. O. Howard was sent to remove the Indians to the Lapwai reservation.

At first Joseph tried to keep peace, but brutal murders by several young braves cast the die for war. Joseph wished to defend his homeland, but the other chiefs overruled him, and the decision was made to attempt to reach their friends the Flatheads in Montana. Across Idaho streamed the Nez Perces caravan with General Howard's regulars hot on their trail. Battles at White Bird, Cottonwood and the Clearwater enabled Chief Joseph to make good his escape but also rendered inevitable the Flathead country, but it was to be no refuge for the tired set to trails before them. At last the weary column reached the Flathead country, but it was to be no refuge for the tired Nez Perces. Chief Charlot was too wise to entangle his braves in another tribe's war, and gave the Nez Perces only the right to pass through Flathead territory. This left Chief Joseph one last objective—to reach the buffalo country across the frontier in Canada. In spite of a surprise attack by Col. John Gibbon at Big Hole, Chief Joseph succeeded in continuing his masterly retreat. It began to look as if the Nez Perces would reach Canada safely in spite of General Howard and the U. S. army. The Indians were confident that the game was theirs—too confident. Within a day's march of the Canadian border Joseph paused to allow his worn-out people a breathing spell. General Howard was behind him, and Joseph knew that he could easily outrun him to the border and safety. But what he did not know was that Col. Nelson Miles with 375 men was hastening towards him from Fort Keogh. Miles surprised the Nez Perces at their last halting place in the Bearpaw Mountains. While the battle raged General Howard came up and effected a junction with Miles. It was the end. Chief Joseph surrendered. His people were shipped to far-off Oklahoma, but

it is pleasant to recall that the Government relented and allowed them to return if not to their longed-for Wallowa Lake, at least to the Pacific Northwest which they knew and loved.

On Sept. 21, 1904 Chief Joseph died at Nespelem, Washington on the Colville reservation. His achievement was a great one. He led a tribe with men, women, and children through hostile country from Oregon through Idaho, through Yellowstone Park, up across Montana to a point within a few miles of the Canadian border. As a retreat the march of Chief Joseph compares favorably with that of Xenophon or O'Sullivan Beare. True, Xenophon's ten thousand were able to cry *Thallatta!* but after all they were an army not a tribe. O'Sullivan Beare led a gathering of men, women and children from Dunboy to Leitrim but the distance was far less than that covered by the Nez Percés movement. Only success is lacking to make Chief Joseph's achievement rank ahead of these famous retreats.

Miss Howard has presented a lively picture of the great chief. She has gone to the sources and with the help of Dan McGrath has filled in the picture with details from old pioneers. The illustrations are quite good. The maps are adequate but a general map covering the whole area would be helpful.

JOSEPH S. BRUSHER

**Conflict, the American Civil War**, by George Fort Milton. New York. Coward-McCann, Inc. 1941. pp. xii + 433. \$3.50

A book can be judged fairly only if the purpose for which it has been written is also taken into account. In this concise history of the American Civil War, Mr. Milton's aim has been not to "detail the causes of the conflict, nor to seek to assess the responsibilities therefor. Neither is it to indict nor defend the actors of the evil days following the surrender of the Southern sword." On the contrary, what he has tried to do is to present the reader with a satisfactory, brief, objective account of "the war as a whole—the war on land, at sea, in diplomacy, in the spirit of the people, the employment of their material and psychic strengths." Thus the work takes on the aspect of an "essay in proportion," in which the varied and subtle strands of events are skillfully woven together into an integrated harmonious whole. The result is a commendable piece of historical scholarship, well written, eminently fair, and free from any bias or prejudice in the presentation of the delicate problem of sectional relations.

The story of the Civil War is a story of great interest to students of contemporary history, for out of the struggle of 1861-65 have sprung many of the problems of twentieth-century America. On the Confederate side it is a story of divided commands, jealousy among ranking officers, provincial outlook, and continual—and bad—direction of military affairs on the part of the Richmond administration, a situation which is paralleled in the North by political opposition to the Lincoln administration, party dissensions, pacifist propaganda, and incompetent military direction. The author has handled his subject in a vigorous, engaging manner. There is no lagging of interest, neither is there undue emphasis of detail. Many points of interest have necessarily been omitted or rapidly passed over, but the general, broad outlines of the struggle are there. Milton is at his best in describing battles and military actions, but the reader might well question the wisdom of placing on one man—Bragg—the blame for the military doom of the Confederacy. Struggles such as this are not won and lost by the action of a single man. The author also has a penchant for hypothetical reasonings. Among other things, Mr. Milton thinks that the South could have won the war had she made a quick thrust northward at the very beginning of the struggle, but it is to be doubted whether results would have justified the action. The North was not prepared, it is true; but neither was the South. Then, too, had Lee transferred his army to the West to cope with the Federals there instead of taking the calamitous road north which ended on the bloody field of Gettysburg, all might have ended differently. But IFs do not alter facts nor history. The reality is that the North won, and in outlining its fight for reunion Mr. Milton has accomplished a fine bit of synthetic history. Though not particularly penetrating, the volume should prove a handy and valuable aid in the study of the American nation.

EUGENE H. KORTH

**Intellectual America: Ideas on the March**, by Oscar Cargill. New York. Macmillan. 1941. pp. xxi + 777. \$5.00

A title, or a sub-title, will often sell a book. When the label does not fit the contents the author may be offering something

just as good, or the careless buyer may deserve to be fooled. In this instance a warning is in place. Doctor Cargill's "intellectual" America is mentally diseased, emotional, abnormal, anything but a nation employing its mind in the normal processes of thinking or understanding or evolving a sane philosophy. His "ideas on the march" are mostly the ravings of a gang of neurotics. The book is, in fact, a sort of drain-inspector's report. And the reader who cares to keep his wholesome outlook on life will need a little disinfecting or fumigation before he is halfway through it.

Most of us wander about our streets blissfully oblivious of the sewage system under them. The sewers are, of course, an element in our complex civilization that every small boy should know. And an education may be the broader for an occasional glance at the city dump. But when a guide (and every author is a guide) noses about a thousand cloacas and garbage heaps, triumphantly proclaiming: "This is Chicago" or "This is Podunk" our reaction is plain disgust. There have been plenty of eye-sores and bad smells in America. But the cumulative effect of presenting such things in quick succession is not pleasant. Our objection to Cargill is not that he does not deal with facts, but that he throws the whole American scene out of focus. He loses his reader in a swamp of poisonous weeds, assuring him that this is freedom.

Maybe, the irate historian is all wrong in demanding perspective in a "literary critic" who subordinates his history to what he calls Ideodynamics, or the study of ideologies. But we are very much interested in the growth of contemporary culture. And we don't like to have endless sexy reveling in the mud foisted upon a gullible public as "intellectual America." The "brave creatures [who] have been the carriers of the infections and distempers of Europe" have played their part in lowering the vitality of a once healthy democracy, and so, they belong to history. But we prefer to meet the Naturalists, Primitivists, Decadents, Intelligentsia and Freudians of Cargill in the more balanced accounts of Mark Sullivan, Frederick Lewis Allen or the Lynds. The American purveyors of sexual rot who tried to outdo Freud, Zola, Joyce and Bertrand Russell were at times, no doubt, men of talent. And Cargill betrays the joy he feels in making them seem important. They end, for the most part, in pessimism and despair, cynicism and suicide. They were a manifestation of disease in our national life; it takes a lot of imagination to see in them "intellectual America."

R. CORRIGAN

**Hands Off: A History of the Monroe Doctrine**, by Dexter Perkins. Boston. Little, Brown 1941. pp. xiv + 455. \$3.50

To say that the appearance of a work of this nature is timely, in these days of quickened interest in "Pan-Americanism" and "Western Hemisphere Solidarity," is an obviously superfluous statement. Besides, this new study of the Monroe Doctrine has much more to recommend it than its timeliness, since Professor Perkins is an authority on the subject.

The author has given us here a clear statement of just what the Monroe Doctrine does and does not mean, a rather complete analysis of its origin, and a history of its application.

The volume will be of service to the student and to the general reader interested in our American relations. With the ever-increasing possibility of armed participation in the war for Europe or for Asia—or even for the Americas—it is imperative that the intelligent citizen of the United States know and understand the principles of his country's foreign policy. For this an understanding of the Monroe Doctrine is essential.

MARTIN HASTING

**This War**, by Philip Dorf. New York. Oxford Book Company. 1941. pp. iv + 124. \$0.75

Instead of cramming and cramming the day-to-day reports from a world in turmoil it might be well to declare a holiday, turn off the radio and forget the newspapers for a time. At least we should try to get some order into an undigested and almost indigestible mass of details. Here is a book, brief, compact, reliable and easy to read, which will help toward an intelligent orientation amid the confusion arising from too much quick news. Mr. Dorf is an historian who can analyze the headlines and arrange his findings into a coherent whole. He is also a very frank propagandist who wants to help us (meaning the United States) to fight for freedom, truth and the dignity of man!

R. C.